DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 221 621 UD 022 514

AUTHOR	Metz, Mary Haywood
TITLE	Magnet Schools in Their Organizational Environment. Final Report.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	28 May 82
GRANT	NIE-G-79-0017
NOTE	301p.; For related document see ED 210 400. Project Number 8-0640.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC13 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement; Academically Gifted; Administrator Characteristics; Community Attitudes; Community Involvement; Comparative Analysis; Desegregation Effects; Desegregation Plans; Educational Environment; Educational Innovation; Elementary Secondary Education; Ethnography; Institutional Characteristics; Intermediate Grades; Interpersonal Relationship; Junior High Schools; *Magnet Schools; Middle Schools; Open Education; *Organizational Climate; *Political Influences; Racial Relations; *School Desegregation; *School Organization; School Policy; Student Attitudes; Teaching Methods; *Voluntary Desegregation
IDENTIFIERS	Individually Guided Education

ABSTRACT

Three magnet middle schools which were established as part of a voluntary desegregation plan in a school system in a large, American city are described in this report. The schools are examined as organizations that differed in their innovative educational approaches to bring about desegregation. One school offered a system of open education, in which students planned their own daily programs of activities in consultation with their teachers, and implemented these programs individually. The second school provided Individually Guided Instruction (IGE), which involved breaking the school population down into units, each with a common group of teachers, to create smaller social contexts within the whole school environment. The third school emphasized education for the gifted and talented, and was distinctive more for the character of its students than for any special teaching approach. The report focuses on the historical and political context within which the schools developed; the educational patterns that each school employed; organizational processes (such as leadership styles, school history, student composition, and interpersonal relationships) through which each school developed a distinctive character; and the effects that the schools had on interpersonal/interracial relationships and on attitudes toward school. Concluding observations about organizational processes in schools in general and in magnet schools in particular are presented. (Author/MJL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED221621

Magnet Schools in Their Organizational Environment

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Mary Haywood Metz
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Mary Haywood Metz

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Final Report to The National Institute of Education, Grant
NIE G 79-0017
No. G-79-0017, Project No. 8-0640

May 28, 1982

The contents of this report were developed under a grant from the National Institute of Education, a part of the U.S. Education Department. However, those contents do not necessarily represent the policy of that agency, and you should not assume endorsement by the Federal Government.

UD 022 514

Table of Contents

Preface iii

Chapter One: Introduction to the Magnet Schools of Heartland 1
- The City of Heartland
- The Court Order and the Founding of Magnet Schools
- The Schools Studied
- Methods of Study
- Plan of the Report

Chapter Two: Common Results of Magnet Status for the Heartland Alternative Schools 17
- The Political Context of the Magnet Schools
- Systemwide Constraints in Designing and Implementing the Magnet Schools
- Common Problems for Individual Magnet Schools
- Common Benefits for Individual Magnet Schools
- Common Influences with Mixed Effects for Individual Magnet Schools
- Some Ironies in the Effects of Magnet Status on Individual Schools

Chapter Three: Common Organizational Processes in the Development of the Schools' Character 40
- Some Models of Organizations
- Theoretical Orientation of this Study
- Important Themes in the Formation of School Character

Chapter Four: Adams Avenue School (Individually Guided Education) 50
- The Founding of the School
- Student Recruitment
- Students' Response to the School
- The Innovation: IGE
- Physical Location
- Faculty Culture
- The Principal
- School History
- Internal Politics
- Some Other Effects of Adams's Distinctive Character on Students
- Conclusion

Chapter Five: Jesse Owens Open Education School 75
- The History of the School
- The Open Education Program at Owens
- Student Recruitment
- The Program in Practice
- Change in the Program Over Time
- Faculty Culture
- The Principal's Role
- Conclusion
- Postscript

Chapter Six: Horace Mann Middle School for the Gifted and Talented 134
The History of the School
A School within a School
Influences on the Definition of the Gifted and Talented Program
Student Recruitment as an Influence on the Program
Faculty Culture
The Program in Practice
The Children's Response
Conclusion
Postscript

Chapter Seven: Sources of Students' Interpersonal Relationships in the Three Schools 233
Sources of Relationships Between Students and Teachers
Sources of Relations Between Black and White Students
Conclusion

Chapter Eight: Heartland's Magnet Schools in Perspective 253
The Organization Character of Magnet Schools
Magnet Schools and Policy Issues

Appendix: Comments on Method 275
The Effect of the Subject and Focus of the Study
Effects of School Character on the Research Process
Effects of the Researcher's Roles on the Research Process
Effects of the Researcher's Roles on the Analysis

References 284

Preface

This report gives an account of the internal life of three public magnet middle schools in one of the nation's twenty-five largest cities. Though the schools are locally called alternative schools in official parlance, they are often informally called magnet schools. More important, they display the crucial defining characteristics of magnet schools; they recruit students on a voluntary basis from throughout the system within racial quotas for desegregation, and they offer distinctive educational approaches which may broadly be called innovative as an incentive to families to volunteer. The school system has received large amounts of federal support for several of its "alternative schools" from magnet school funds.

This study was originally intended to inquire into the organizational functioning of these schools, with a secondary emphasis upon describing their careers in a way which would be instructive to policymakers interested in starting such schools in other cities. But as the study has progressed it has become clear that the schools' organizational functioning was profoundly affected by their political fortunes. Further their internal organizational processes deeply affected the programs they actually offered and their students' school experiences in spite of policy plans as well as because of them. Thus students of organizational processes can learn something from the whole saga of these schools' experiences, while policymakers would be wise to attend to the interacting internal organizational processes which transform their planned innovations between blueprint and practice.

In the following pages I have looked at how their magnet status affects the three schools studied in a broad range of ways, ranging from their command of various resources to their ability to offer distinctive education to a set of racially diverse volunteers. I have also looked at the internal processes of the schools to investigate the ways in which innovative schools function as organizations. Understanding the innovations as sets of influences which change traditional patterns of school organization, I have asked what chains of circumstance were set in train by these influences. I have attempted to find out what patterns of behavior and relationships, that is what patterns of organizational life, resulted from their introduction.

There have been by now a spate of studies which suggest that educational innovations often do not "take", that there are strong forces resisting long term changes in the established patterns of traditional schools (e.g. Baldridge and Deal, 1975; Berman and McLaughlin, 1975; Corwin, 1973; Firestone, 1981; Herriott and Gross, 1979; Sharp and Green, 1975; Smith and Keith, 1971; Sussmann, 1977; Wolcott, 1977). Some of these studies have sensitively explored the internal processes which result in such resistance, but they have done so from a variety of perspectives. Much still needs to be learned about the processes which lead to this result--or which in less common instances lead to the acceptance and institutionalization of changes. This study will address these questions from the perspective of the organizational structure and

and functioning of schools. However, that statement does not tell the reader a great deal, as there are a variety of models of organizational processes currently in use by social scientists. My use of these models is eclectic and my methods primarily inductive.

I spent roughtly a semester participating in the life of each school. My intent was to characterize that life in terms that various participants found salient, in terms that were roughly comparable from school to school, in terms that were relevant to the ability of the school actually to offer the program it advertised, and in terms that were relevant to understanding the experience it did in practice offer to its students. These intentions lead me to overlapping images of each school which were not identical. I have fitted them together around the latter two questions, asking what program each school was supposed to offer and what kind of an experience it did actually present to its students. I seek to explain these phenomena as consequences of the aspects of school life and the issues of school policy which were important to the administrators and teachers of the school and as consequences of others which might have less salience but which experience at all three schools showed me played a part in the character of all.

My perspective was not totally open-ended. I came into the schools expecting certain variables to be important on the basis of my own and others' previous studies of schools, and, whether because of my expectations or because of what was there, I found most of those variables to be important. Among them were the development of a faculty culture, the policies and directions set by the principals, ambivalence and ambiguity surrounding the nature of authority relations between principals and teachers, and classroom activity structures. However, I also found some variables to be important which I had not expected to play so large a part, most noticeably the history of the schools, policy decisions concerning them which were based upon system needs rather than school needs, internal political relations, and curricular structures and academic rewards.

The central question that I have asked at each school concerns the organizational character that it developed in practice. I am less concerned with whether it did or did not implement its announced innovative program. Rather I have considered that formal program simply as one aspect of the goals and policies which were set for it by various important actors in its life. I look at the elements of the formal innovation which were in fact practiced as one among several of the important parts of the adults' actions and the students' experience. In other words, I have seen the innovation as only one of many influences shaping the adults' decisions and behaviors as they constructed the schools' daily rounds and I have seen its partial practice as only one element in the students' total experience of the school.

The portrait of the schools which I have attempted to paint thus looks at the total character of the experience which the staffs offered to the students and seeks to explain the sources of that experience in a blend of planned and unplanned influences. Thus I see each innovation as being transformed into action, in part or in whole, as it mixes with a variety of other processes in the organizational life of the school. It can neither totally dominate nor exist independently of those influences. To understand what happens to blueprints for innovation as they are translated into action one must understand the other influences which shape action in the school as well.

Consequently, this study is as much as study of the organizational character of public schools in general as it is a study of the organizational character of innovative schools or magnet schools alone. The processes at work in all public schools blend with the special ones at work in innovative and magnet schools. Indeed, persons interested in the organizational character of traditional schools may find this study illuminates processes at work there particularly well because the special influences of innovation create changes which make visible processes and structures which are less easily seen under more stable circumstances, but which are no less important for that lack of visibility.

While the major focus of this report is upon explaining the influences which bore upon the programs, or more broadly upon the experiences which each school offered its students, I have more briefly considered the effects of those experiences upon the students. The students' responses to those experiences became in turn one of the influences shaping the behavior of the adults at each school. These responses affected the classroom demeanor of individual teachers but also their shared perspectives and policy decisions made at the classroom, team, and school levels.

Further, the experiences which the schools offered the students affected students' behavior significantly. The student bodies did not act as one might have predicted from knowledge only of their demographic characteristics and academic achievement levels. This finding seemed important. I have spent some time in each school portrait and in Chapter Seven, which compares the responses of the three student bodies, in exploring the elements of the students' experiences which seemed most important in shaping their responses. I do so even though the design of the study did not yield as extensive data on these responses as I would have obtained had I foreseen the importance of these findings or had I had sufficient resources to explore them more thoroughly without sleighting my primary interests.

From the beginning of the research I have told participants in the study that I would use pseudonyms and would change some details that would identify individuals. In making this decision I have followed a long tradition in sociology, the discipline in which the study is grounded. However, I did consider the decision independently and would not have hesitated to break from that tradition, as some recent authors have, if it had seemed wise to do so. It seemed to me rather that the kinds of descriptive details I needed to learn in order to investigate the questions I was pursuing were ones which participants in the schools and the school system had legitimate reason not to want to make public. In order to ask for full and free responses to the study, therefore, I ought to promise participants that neither they nor their schools would be publicly identified. Since the purpose of the research has been to identify processes which are important in the functioning of magnet schools, innovative schools, and public schools in general, not to describe particular conditions in a particular time and place, the reader loses little from the lack of identification of the community and its schools In Chapter One I have given a brief description of the community which should allow the reader to qualify the findings as the distinctive nature of the community affects them.

Despite the use of pseudonyms, however, some persons in the community of Heartland who know that I was doing such a study will be able to identify the community and the individual schools--since each is the only one of its kind in Heartland--as well as the persons within them who are in unique positions such as the principals. For these readers I must stress that the descriptions I have given of each school were given with the intention of illuminating the general points to be made. Had I set out to evaluate whether each school was doing a "good job", or even whether it was doing as good a job as possible under its special circumstances, I would have conducted the field work, analyzed what I learned, and written the report quite differently. It therefore would be a serious mistake to take this report as an evaluation of any or all of the schools.

Further, in description even more than in analysis of underlying processes, a single observer is bound to introduce bias because of necessarily limited experience and the limitations inherent in one's individual roles and personal perspectives. Readers from Heartland should take special note of the Methodological Appendix where I describe some of the influences which affected the description and analysis of the schools as a result of the process of the field work, the schools' responses to me as an individual and a field worker, and my own professional and personal background.

Schools are a topic which generates a good deal of feeling in the public and even more in persons whose lives are intimately affected by their character through their participation as employees, students, and parents. As I participated in the lives of these three schools I heard many passionate statements of feeling sometimes in praise but often in criticism of the school system, the schools, and individuals within the schools. Much of that praise and much of that criticism was reasonable since as anywhere the Heartland Public Schools, the three schools as wholes, and the individuals responsible for what happens in the schools display real virtues and real weaknesses from a number of value perspectives. But what was worthy of praise in one person's eyes might be worthy of condemnation in another's. People in the United States, people in Heartland, and people connected with the three schools do not agree on ultimate values, proximate goals, or appropriate means. Thus any two people reading the accounts of these schools may place praise and blame quite differently as they form their pictures of the schools based upon them.

I went into the schools believing that people act reasonably, even though not always rationally or wisely, and that if I listened and watched I would find both the actions of individuals and the character of the schools understandable. I found little to make me question that assumption as I did the fieldwork, analyzed the data, and wrote the report. I hope therefore that this report may help others to find them similarly understandable. Allowing for the impact of some differences in individuals' preferences for educational values, priorities, and procedures--which had only limited scope for making an impact--the people who shaped these schools acted much as other Americans in similar roles would have acted had they been placed in the same schools. Readers interested in changing the patterns described here--or ones like them in other settings--would be well advised to change social conditions in the schools not simply to rotate personnel through similar positions.

As I write these lines they reflect the end of an effort which has stretched over more than four years, from designing the study and writing the research proposal to concluding the final report. During that time I have received assistance and support from many sources.

My greatest thanks must go to the men and women of the Heartland Public Schools without whose openess, cooperation, and cordiality the study could not have been done. When I proposed the study in the spring of 1978 desegregation in Heartland had been under way for only a year and a half. The system was still in a good deal of turmoil and under varied political pressure. It is a mark of the system's and the schools' willingness to be of service to the wider educational community and of their faith in the quality and integrity of their schools that under these conditions they welcomed a researcher with a project which involved a thorough and open-ended study of the three schools. At both the system level and the school level, personnel were not only cooperative but gracious and generous with their time. I am deeply grateful. Students and parents also were willing to talk to me in interviews and in some of the schools students led me through their class days and explained happenings in class to me in the halls and lunchlines.

The study also would not have been possible without the financial support of the National Institute of Education. The Institute has been efficient and supportive in administrative details and has provided some intellectual community in putting grantees with similar interests in touch with each other. Gail MacColl, the project officer for the study, has gone beyond the competent performance of these official duties in providing the moral support of an interested audience through the long formative period of fieldwork, analysis, and writing. As stated in the formal disclaimer on the title page, the Institute and its personnel of course bear no responsibility for the content of this report.

I am grateful to my colleagues at the two institutions where I have been employed during the study for personal support and intellectual stimulation. I also appreciate the efforts of persons in both business offices; they kept the necessary resources for the project flowing and left me free to concentrate on substantive issues.

Two project assistants funded by the University of Wisconsin, Greg Gossetti in the fall of 1980 and Martha de Acosta in the academic year 1981-1982 have provided an independent reading of parts of the data and have helped with library research.

My thanks are due also to Jeffrey Leiter, Linda McNeil, and Michael Olneck who each read and made useful comments on drafts of portions of this report. They bear no responsibility for its current form.

Most of the field notes and interviews for the study were recorded on audiotape. Susan Barney and Marsha Stein patiently and skillfully translated those recordings into thousands of pages of typed transcripts. Marsha Stein also typed the final report, putting up with eccentricities of handwriting and writing style with good humor and technical skill. I am sincerely thankful.

Finally, I thank my family. My sons, David and Michael, have shared their mother's attention with this study in good spirit. They have acted as patient and often incisive informants on life in elementary schools throughout their short school careers. My husband and colleague, Don Metz, has provided an invaluable source of wisdom and balance in the tasks of maintaining personal sanity and professional perspective through the progress of a long and complex project.

Chapter One

Introduction to the Magnet Schools of Heartland

Magnet schools blend two of the important thrusts in contemporary urban education. They are voluntarily desegregated schools and they are educationally innovative schools. For both these reasons magnets are of interest to practitioners and policymakers. They suggest a route to make desegregation more politically palatable and they provide an opportunity for trying out educationally innovative ideas in a favorable climate within large public school systems.

This report tells the story of three magnet middle schools in a large city system which has relied upon a relatively large number of magnet schools as the keystone of a plan for compliance with a court order to desegregate. While it will say something of the system as a whole, its primary focus is upon the three schools. The report tells how they were affected by their location within the total school system as it progressed through the first five years of desegregation. It investigates each school's functioning as an innovative organization, what educational patterns each actually practiced and why. It explores the less formal distinctive character which developed in each school. Finally, it considers more briefly the effects each had upon its students.

The story of these schools will be interesting not only to practitioners, but to sociologists concerned with the functioning of both innovative and "ordinary" schools. For as these schools adjusted both to their location in a system undergoing massive political and logistical reorientation and to their mandate to become quickly educationally distinctive, they revealed much about the organizational character of public schools more generally. The strain between the formally bureaucratic character of school systems and the loose coupling and unofficial autonomy which obtains between levels was brought vividly to the fore. The development of collective perspectives, or subcultures, which shape perceptions of events and continuing relationships was clearly demonstrated in the attempt to create rapid change. And the effects of the organization of time and space both within the school as a whole and in the routine of classroom activities showed themselves to be crucial to students' experience.

I began this study with the interests of a sociologist who studies intra-organizational processes. I intended to look at the schools as organizations shaped by their mandate to pursue new organizational patterns which involved changes of goals, of technology, of structures, or of student mix. I expected the character of the innovation and the aspects of organizational functioning which it altered to be the most important variables in determining the distinctive character of each school.

I had planned to look at the schools' relations with the district as a whole, expecting to find their need to communicate special conditions created by their innovations as the most important distinctive aspect of that relationship. I discovered instead that the schools were profoundly conditioned by their founding as tools in the political process of desegregation, and that the history and development of each school in this context were crucial and determinative variables in shaping its internal character.

I discovered also that arrangements for the students' school day and for their activities in class, which may or may not have been tightly planned in accordance with the school's educational specialty, were crucial determinants of students' daily experience. These discoveries expanded the scope of the study and pointed to important empirical observations about magnet schools.

THE CITY OF HEARTLAND

The study was done in the city of "Heartland" (a pseudonym), a city located in the vast lands between the Sierra Nevada and the Alleghenies, and one of the nation's twenty-five largest cities. Heartland is a prosperous city with a diversified but heavily blue collar economic base. It was founded in the middle of the nineteenth century and settled by waves of northern and then eastern European immigrants. Its roots in the traditions of one northern and one eastern European country are still very much a part of its cultural heritage and its public image. Other European ethnic groups also formed communities which maintain their identities to this day.[1]

The city is located on a large river with commercial shipping which carries the products of its industry as well as those of the surrounding agricultural area. It also is served by rail and truck. Table 1-1 compares the economic characteristics of Heartland's population to the average for the fifty largest cities in 1970 Census figures. Heartland's population is slightly more likely to be in the labor force and to be employed if in it, than is that of the average city. Women work in larger numbers and the work force is disporportionately blue collar. The slightly higher than average family income may reflect the presence of two earner families, though the average family income of households headed by women also exceeds national averages.

The median education for persons over 25 years was 11.9 in 1970; 49% of the population had completed high school while 7% had completed four years of college. The ethos of the city is thus that of the worker with a high school education and a manual or lower white collar job.

More subjectively, the city is often spoken of as an overgrown small town or a collection of neighboring small towns. Neighborhoods are identifiable and often quite stable. Strangers are friendly and helpful to a person in need of direction or in passing on the street. In many neighborhoods doors are not locked during the day.

But the friendliness of the neighborhoods is balanced by a sense of neighborhood identity which can be exclusive. Areas of the city have generally understood characters and the smaller neighborhoods contain definite ethnic groups and social classes. Thus, the South Side of the city which claims the pleasant waterfront east of the harbor (see Figure 1-1) is known as the location for the elite of the city. High city officials

Table 1-1*

Comparison of Heartland's Economic Characteristics to the Average for the Fifty Largest U.S.A. Cities, 1970

	Heartland	Large City Average
Percent of males over 16 in labor force	79.4	76.9
Percent of females over 16 in labor force	48.6	45.2
Percent unemployed-males	3.9	4.6
Percent unemployed-females	4.2	5.0
Percent in blue collar occupations-males	56.0	45.4
Percent in blue collar occupations-females	18.2	15.1
Percent of all families with income less than poverty level	8.1	11.3
Percent of all families with income over $10,000	52.0	47.4
Percent of female-headed families with income below the poverty line	30.4	33.1
Percent of female-headed families with income over $10,000	20.0	19.0
Median family income	$10,258	$9,607

*Source: US Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population, 1970 and a few leading businessmen and lawyers live there. The suburbs which extend eastward along both sides of the river are the home of old money. There is also a branch of the state university within the city limits in this neighborhood. Its presence, the eighty year old houses and the population support a very slightly arty tone in the neighborhood. The West Side of the city, on the other side of the downtown area and a tributary of the River from the South (really southeastern) Side is the home of blue collar factory workers. It extends from the River to the northern edge of the city. In some of the newer neighborhoods at its northern edge it provides a haven for prosperous city employees, especially policemen and firemen, who must live within the city limits but who identify with the newer suburbs beyond them.

East of the tributary which divides the West Side from the rest of the city on the northern edge lies the North Side, an expanding pleasant area of modern homes populated by the aspiring lower middle and middle middle class. This area is edged by the most prosperous suburbs but ones whose residents' pedigrees in Heartland may be a little shorter than on the South Side. Beyond these suburbs stretches a chain of small towns which are being increasingly populated with exurbanites, especially along the main highway which goes north a few hours drive to the state capital.

Finally the city's East Side, east of the major tributary, and between the North and South Sides, is its black area. The city's black population was only 15% of the total in 1970, 23% in 1980. The rate of black immigration is relatively slow. Economic conditions in this area, while bad, are not as desperate as in many large cities. As in many midwestern cities, most of the housing is older two and three story homes which look fairly well maintained from the outside, though they may be split up into many units with inadequate cooking and sanitary facilities inside.

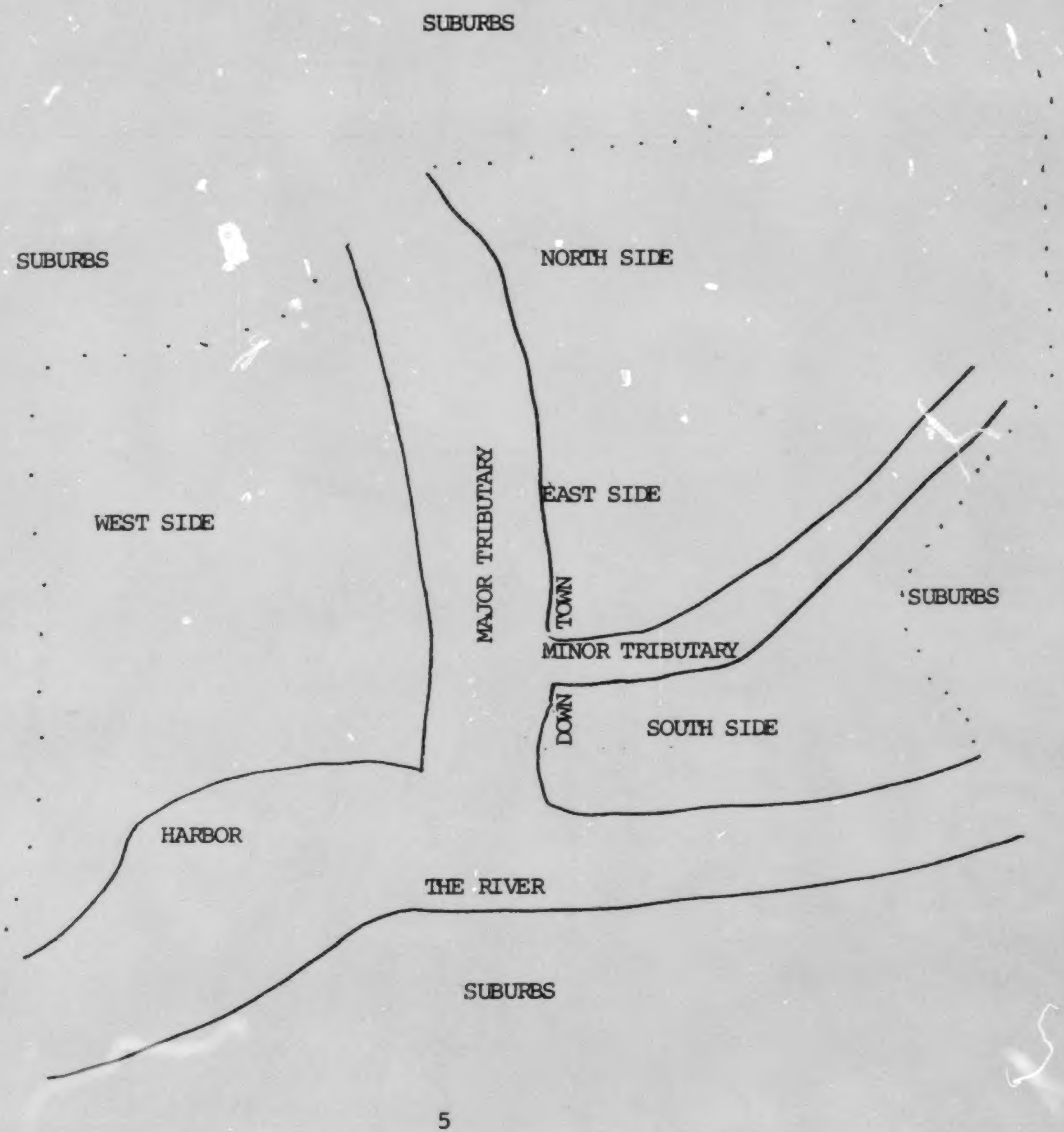
The median family income for blacks in 1970 was $7,478 compared to $10,258 for the total population. Among blacks 25 years and older the median for years of schooling was 10.4 in 1970 and 33.8% had graduated from high school, compared to a median of 11.9 and 49% graduation from high school for the total population.

The city also has a small but rapidly growing Hispanic population. It was 2 percent of the population in 1970 but 4% in 1980. They are concentrated on the West Side just across the tributary from the downtown area fairly near the River and its harbor area. In the desegregation order they were counted as white. They have entered into the politics of desegregation as a group mostly in their efforts to maintain enough concentration of children in individual schools for meaningful bilingual-bicultural programs. Though their importance in school policy is bound to increase, they have not been major actors in the history of the magnet schools and I will say little more about them.

The relatively small size of the black population and its prosperity relative to the inner city populations of some cities may help to keep

Figure 1-1

Map of Heartland


SUBURBS
SUBURBS
NORTH SIDE
EAST SIDE
WEST SIDE
MAJOR TRIBUTARY
TOWN
SUBURBS
MINOR TRIBUTARY
DOWN
SOUTH SIDE
HARBOR
THE RIVER
SUBURBS

tensions between the races manageable. But signs of prejudice, such as one of the highest indexes of housing segregation in the nation, suggest the barriers are high. Indeed the very ethnic self-consciousness and neighborhood solidarity which lend color and warmth to the city for white residents in their daily lives may exacerbate the distance between blacks and whites. During the sixties there were civil rights demonstrations over schools and housing, the latter met by white violence. There was also a central city riot.

Heartland's school system reflects its character as a city. The central administration is locally based and was until very recently staffed almost exclusively by white males who had extensive ties of common experience and common networks of acquaintance. Blacks were not hired even as teachers in any numbers at all until the late sixties and early seventies. They were first promoted into principalships under heavy federal pressure in the early seventies. With the exception of a handful of visible, symbolic posts mostly related in some way to human relations, few slots in the central administration have opened to blacks.

The school board, elected at large until the state legislature mandated a gradual shift in the early eighties to district representation, has contained a mixture of elements. Educated liberals from the South Side and from the Anderson Springs neighborhood (an active, intentionally integrated one between the North and East Sides near the city's center) were overrepresented. But there were articulate representatives of the laboring whites on the West Side and of the aspiring ones on the growing North side. Between 1975 and 1981 the number of blacks on the board has varied from one to three (out of fifteen diminishing to eleven.) All have been college educated professionals or upper white collar workers.

In short while Heartland like any city has unique features, it can be described as reasonably typical of midwestern cities of the second rank in size in fairly good economic condition where whites are still numerically and politically dominant in the central city despite a sizable and growing minority group.

THE COURT ORDER AND THE FOUNDING OF MAGNET SCHOOLS

In January of 1976, after a suit that had lasted fourteen years, a federal judge ruled that the Heartland schools had been intentionally segregated and ordered that they be desegregated starting in September 1976. He gave the school board time to come up with a plan for desegregation and to submit it for his approval. The board voted to appeal the decision in a series of bitterly contested votes which consistently split eight to seven with the same persons voting together each time. The liberal whites from the South Side and the Anderson Springs area and the black members of the board formed one coalition while the working class West Siders, representatives of the North Side threatened by black expansion, and a conservative realtor from the South Side voted to appeal.

The administration was led by Dr. Stewart, the newly arrived superintendent. He had been hired by this divided school board partly because he responded to questions about desegregation with the suggestion that voluntary magnet schools, such as he had overseen in the smaller system from which he came, might be used to create voluntary movement.

Following the court order Dr. Stewart and the administration worked out a plan for magnet schools at every age level. The court sent it back as too little and through the spring and summer more special schools were developed. The court then accepted it.

In the fall of 1976 according to the court order one third of the city's schools had to be desegregated, in 1977 two thirds, and in 1978 all. With the black school enrollment climbing toward the 50 percent mark,[2] the percent black in desegregated schools was set at 25 to 50. In later years that was modified to 25 to 60 percent.

A few magnet schools which drew their students from the entire city were opened for the fall of 1976. These came to be known as "citywide" alternative schools. Another set of magnet schools drew children first from their own neighborhood "attendance area" up to the desegregation quota for each race, then drew children from within their own "zone" (one of three desegregated geographical entities) to fill the rest of the seats on a desegregated basis.

Finally children were free to enroll in any school in the city where their presence would enhance racial balance. To add to this voluntary movement, magnet schools were located mostly in black neighborhoods and many black neighborhood schools were closed or reduced in enrollment. Thus many black children could not choose to go to their old neighborhood school. Though every house in the city had a formal attendance area school, some schools could not hold all the children in that area. Thus black children were pushed toward empty seats in outlying white neighborhood schools as well as pulled toward those in magnet schools.

In July and August of 1976 there was an intensive campaign by mail and in the print and electronic media to announce the new opportunities in the magnet schools. Parents were encouraged to visit the magnet schools at open houses and to sign up. Meanwhile more quiet counseling went on in neighborhood schools as principals and counselors wrote to parents and met with them encouraging them to send their children to desegregated schools. This activity was particularly intense in black neighborhoods, especially those where schools were closed or reduced in enrollment.

The campaign was successful. In the fall of 1976 slightly over one third of the schools were desegregated according to court guide lines. In planning for the second year more magnet schools were designed and more black schools were slated for closing or reduction in enrollment. In the spring of 1977, in preparation for the second year, the possibility of mandatory assignment entered the scenario. Every parent of a public school child had to fill out a form listing three choices for his or

17

her child, only one of which could be the neighborhood school. Once again the campaign was successful, and two thirds of the schools were desegregated. The vast majority of children received their first choice school. Virtually all got one of their choices.

In the fall of 1977, before planning for the last and most difficult third was well under way, the appeals court returned the case to the local judge asking for review of the systemwide remedy in the light of the Dayton decision. A new trial was held to demonstrate whether there were indeed systemwide effects of the board's intent to segregate. The judge ruled that there were. But before he offered his remedy, the weary attorneys decided to settle out of court, leaving twenty elementary schools and two middle schools predominantly black, rather than to risk an appeal to a conservative Supreme Court which might give even less relief. The settlement also stated that the remedy was to extend for five years. Later decisions of the Supreme Court made it appear that the plaintiffs were overly pessimistic, but by that time the out of court settlement was in place.

Both the local and national media have emphasized the role of magnet schools in creating voluntary desegregation of this large system of approximately 100,000 students. It is less often noted, at least in the mainstream press, that ninety percent of the children who ride buses for desegregation are black. Most of the white children who travel are going to magnet schools. Since most of those schools are about half white and half black, approximately ten percent of the riders are black children going to magnet schools. The other eighty percent are black children going to ordinary white neighborhood schools.[3]

The citywide magnet schools have for the most part drawn well. Those which have not have been quietly dropped. "Attendance area" magnet schools have been less successful at drawing on a desegregated basis. Some have been turned into citywide schools, and some have maintained their special educational approach more in name than in practice. The last is especially true of the middle schools almost all which have some special label.

In 1981-1982 there are twelve citywide magnet elementary schools and three attendance area ones out of 117 elementary schools. There are three citywide magnet middle schools out of a total of nineteen middle schools. There are three citywide magnet high schools and a special citywide program housed in one of the other high schools. All of the other eleven high schools also include distinctive career preparation programs which do not enroll the whole student body, but which are designed to encourage students from other parts of the city to attend the school.

The relatively large number of black children involved in one way busing and the relatively small numbers of them who go to magnet schools have not gone unnoticed in the black community. The very presence of the magnets has created some extra difficulties for these students as system resources in money, staff, and attention have gone to the magnets while the receiving white neighborhood schools have been given only minimal help in preparing for the change in their student bodies and in discovering ways of moving from desegregated to integrated education. Further, the pattern of free individual choice has resulted in children being bused into neighborhood schools from many scattered locations rather than from particular neighborhoods paired with outlying schools. There thus is no opportunity for reciprocity between the school neighborhood and the black children's home neighborhood. And the parents of the black children do not know each other or have a social base from which to form an interest group in school affairs.

Black resentment of this pattern found a focus over one high school. East High School, a high school in the heart of the near East Side, was torn down and replaced with a brand new building opened in the fall of 1978. In its first year, 1978-1979, it attracted a student body over ninety-five percent black, despite a fine facility and an attractive career specialty which had been designed to bring in white students and able black students from outside the neighborhood. In the spring of 1979 the board voted to close it to neighborhood attendance and reopen it as a citywide magnet school in the fall of 1980. The community had campaigned nearly a quarter century for a new high school and they held that they were entitled to enjoy it. They also argued that bus rides for high school students on scarce early morning buses had become impossibly long. The board held firm until efforts at recruitment in the spring of 1980 failed to produce a desegregated freshman class for the new citywide program. They then gave in and acceded to turning the school back to neighborhood attendance. That act spelled the probable end of the establishment of new magnet schools in black neighborhoods. It is unlikely that more magnets will be established or that desegregation will increase from its current levels which are in accord with the out of court settlement.

THE SCHOOLS STUDIED

This report deals in detail with the three middle schools established as citywide magnets. Middle schools were chosen for two reasons. The first is methodological. Middle schools, unlike high schools, are small enough so that it is possible for a single researcher to become acquainted with most of the staff, with the full range of activities inside and outside the classroom, and with the visible students. One person can gain a reasonably accurate picture of the character of the total organization. Because middle schools move the children to different classrooms with a variety of teachers, it is possible--as it is not in elementary schools--to observe the same children with different teachers and the same teachers with different children. It is thus possible far more easily than in self-contained classrooms to disentangle regularities stemming from the character of school organization from those stemming from the characteristics of individuals.

The second reason for choosing middle schools concerns the effects of age. In middle schools the children have developed some expectations and abstract principles about proper classroom interaction and school

19

policy. The mix of children thus makes a good deal of difference to the character of the school, as the children become a somewhat self-conscious partner in the formation of that character. Middle school students are also old enough to be interviewed and to express their perceptions of the school fairly articulately. They will comment on their friendships, their experiences, and their teachers in ways which indirectly express a student culture. Thus middle schools present the issues involved with varied student mixes more clearly than elementary schools and provide students as informants better than elementary schools can. At the same time middle school students are fresher to the situation than high school students. They are more easily affected by school policies and more ready to be open in their reactions both in the classroom and in interviews.

The three schools chosen were founded at three different times and had three different specialties. Comparison among them displays not only their common fate as magnets in the same system but differences caused by the different relations of magnets with the system at the different periods at which they were founded. Further, their different ages suggest stages of development through which the schools may go. Equally important the different specialties made quite different alterations in the traditional character of junior high or middle schools and these had quite different organizational consequences.

The first of the schools to be founded, Jesse Owens Open Education School, was started four years prior to desegregation on the initiative of the teachers of Rodgers Junior High School Annex. The Annex, located in an outlying elementary school and a rented Catholic high school, was likely no longer to be needed as the removal of the ninth grade from the Rodgers building eased the crowding which had given birth to it. The Annex staff, with interested parents they had gathered, proposed that they become a new open education school serving sixth through eighth graders from throughout the city and choosing an intentionally racially diverse student body. The board approved and after four years, by the time of the desegregation order, they had a long waiting list. Jesse Owens was held up as an example of the viability of voluntary desegregated alternative schools when the system's magnet plan was developed and announced. Jesse Owens itself was moved in the first fall of desegregation from its outlying location into the main Rodgers building near the Northern edge of the black East Side area. Rodgers thus was closed as an attendance area junior high school and its students scattered. The student body of Jesse Owens and its staff were doubled in the move, which was announced a month before it occurred.

The second school to be founded was the Adams Avenue Middle School, which offers Individually Guided Education, known as IGE. Adams Avenue was formed from another annex to an overcrowded inner city junior high school, Williams Annex. It was located in a former elementary school. Despite the old building and its design for younger children, its location on the edge of the downtown area made it well suited to a citywide program. Many city buslines serve the area and the facilities of the excellent central library, a social studies and natural history museum, and downtown businesses are in easy walking distance. The principal was asked what educational approach she though the school might be able to offer. She chose Individually Guided Education, elements of which had been included in the junior high annex program. Individually Guided Education (cf. Klausmeier et al., 1971; Klausmeier, Rossmiller, and Sally, 1977) involves breaking the curriculum down into a set of carefully defined skills with behavioral objectives indicating mastery of those skills. Children are pretested on each skill, grouped according to their level of proficiency, instructed, and then posttested. Adams Avenue was organized as an IGE school during the summer of 1976 and opened that September in the first fall of the desegregation plan.

The third school to be founded was the Atlantic Avenue Middle School for the Gifted and Talented. It was founded as parents from the Peach Street Elementary School for the Gifted and Talented looked for a middle school to continue their children's experience. In the fall of 1977, the second year of desegregation, it was opened with a single class of seventy students in the seventh grade sharing the building with a group of eighth graders finishing their experience at the formerly all black Atlantic Avenue School. The next fall, 1978, the school would have had its first full year of operation with grades six through eight. Instead the program was moved by the board in August to help to fill the newly remodeled Horace Mann High School. That building had been intended to house a high school for the college bound, but enrollment for its first fall was very small and heavily black. Moving the gifted and talented middle school into the building filled the building, desegregated its student body, and allowed the board to close the Atlantic Avenue building where they thought there was a good chance for sale of the land. The middle school thus became the Mann Middle School for the Gifted and Talented. Both it and the high school have grown in the new location until crowding is severe, but in the climate following the controversy over East High School and over the closing of some white elementary schools for purely financial reasons, it is difficult for the board to find another site for the middle school.

The three schools thus vary in the source of their innovative educational styles. They vary in the historical context of their founding. These variations, along with the substance of their special educational approaches, have given them different political contexts and different organizational tasks in establishing and maintaining their educational distinctiveness and their viability vis-a-vis the central powers in the system and a constituency of volunteer parents and students.

The three also illustrate in their histories the place of magnets within the total desegregation plan. Jesse Owens and the gifted and talented program at Atlantic Avenue were placed in inner city junior high schools in order to close those buildings to regular attendance area students who could then be scattered to empty seats in white schools. These two programs also experienced abrupt transfers just before the opening of school into new buildings for reasons which had more to do with the needs of the system and the overall desegregation plan than the needs of the programs. The third school, Adams, was often mentioned for

21

such a move but to date it has not been made. The staff expect it, however, and despite their attachment to their building and their feeling that it is well-suited to the program, they are hesitant to plan far into the future as they yearly expect a move. I will say more of these issues in describing each school.

METHODS OF STUDY

The research approach for this study was ethnographic. Working alone, I gathered data from observation, semi-structured interviews, and the collection of documents. I observed in classrooms, halls, and teachers' lounges. I was present in meetings of committees, teams, whole faculties, and parents. I listened to school board meetings on the radio and I attended many meetings of a citywide committee of parents from all citywide schools. I interviewed a small sample of students, most teachers and administrators, and a few parents at each school both formally and informally in casual conversations. I also interviewed supervising teachers at central office, the administrator directly above the principals, administrators responsible for external funding of magnet schools, persons administering special programs which involved them with magnet schools, and the Deputy Superintendent. I collected student and faculty handbooks, bulletins for students and faculty, announcements of meetings and varied other paper statements. I obtained from the central office the fifth grade test scores and seventh grade test scores on standardized tests (given citywide at those grade levels to all students) for one cohort at each school. I therefore had a measure of achievement before exposure to the school and after (in most cases) two years. In each case it was the cohort in the seventh grade at the time of the study whose scores I obtained.

The fieldwork for this study ran from January 1979 until June of 1980. I studied Adams Avenue primarily during the spring of 1979, at the end of its third year as a magnet school. I studied Owens during the fall and winter of 1979-1980, in its fourth year in the Rodgers building and its eighth of operation. I studied the sixth grade at Mann in the early fall of 1979 and the seventh and eighth grades in the spring of 1980, during the program's second year in the Mann building and its third of operation. I attended parent meetings at Mann throughout the eighteen months of fieldwork.

I chose to start with Adams because the board had had the building on a list to be closed in the fall of 1979 and I thought it would be beneficial to look at the program before and after a move. The parents organized and lobbied the board and the move was not made. Closing has not been formally discussed by the board since that time, though it has been mentioned. It seemed wise to study Owens in the fall because that is the period when students are indoctrinated into the ways of open education. But I spent one day a week with the sixth grade at Mann during the fall to watch their indoctrination there.

At Adams and Mann which are organized more or less like junior high schools, with students moving from class to class, I started my study by following several students through their whole class day. At Adams I followed one student in each grade (sixth through eighth) and then asked teachers, starting with those who seemed most friendly, to observe another one or two classes and to interview them. I interviewed nearly all the teachers at this small school.

At Mann, the sixth grade classes traveled together. I followed two of the five rooms for all of a day, and the remaining three part of a day since they stayed with one teacher for a large portion of the day. I then interviewed their teachers.[4] In the seventh and eighth grades I followed five students, then interviewed the teachers without further observation. The teachers in Mann's seventh and eighth grades were by far the most uncomfortable with observation of any in the study. I therefore was reluctant to ask to observe beyond the observations following students, which I made more extensive than those at Adams. Using this method I saw almost all of the seventh and eighth grade teachers, and I saw some two or three times according to the chance vagaries of students' schedules. However, I also missed seeing three teachers whom I later learned it would have been informative to observe, because they had a reputation for being distinctive in varied ways.

I interviewed twenty-two of the thirty Mann teachers, omitting mostly teachers of specialized subjects. As at Adams I started with those who were initially mostly friendly. I then worked out through all I had observed and others whom I had reason to think might have a special point of view.

At both schools I sat in on two to three meetings of each grade level team of teachers. At both I observed faculty meetings, though more of them at Mann where I followed them for most of a year.[5] At both I attended social and informational meetings for parents and performances for parents by students. I interviewed the assistant principal and principal at Adams and the counselor, curriculum co-ordinator, and administrator in charge at Mann. I interviewed several parents from both schools at their home or work.

At Jesse Owens students were assigned to self-contained classrooms, rather than moving from class to class. Every one left the room for one part of the day for non-academic courses while their teachers had preparation period. Otherwise, they stayed in their self-contained rooms or moved about the school to resource areas on individual schedules which generally varied from day to day. I therefore started my work there by attending two weeks of orientation to open education held every afternoon for the first two weeks of school. I later spent half a day in every self-contained classroom and also observed classes in music, art, shop, and home economics. I interviewed all the teachers whose classes I had seen. I also interviewed the counselor, curriculum co-ordinator, assistant principal, and principal. I attended meetings of "support groups", teachers meeting during preparation period. And I attended parent meetings which were combined with the parent groups of two feeder elementary schools into a group called "Supporters of Open Education".

At all three schools I interviewed students toward the end of the field work. At all I tried to make the samples and the questions as comparable as possible, though Jesse Owens's different structure made that task difficult. At each school I chose a purposive stratified sample. I chose it to represent boys and girls and blacks and whites in equal numbers. And I chose equal numbers from each grade, except that the sixth grade was underrepresented at Adams and especially Owens where there were fewer children in this grade. Within categories of gender, race, and grade level, I attempted to find children who represented all levels of academic ability. Where I had noticed children in classes who seemed to be articulate or to be leaders whether in co-operative or uncooperative directions, I often chose them to interview. But I relied in part upon teams of teachers to name children who would fit my categories of race, gender, and academic ability. I asked also for variation in co-operativeness or liking of the school. At Owens, this procedure differed. There I asked each teacher to describe several children who were fast and slow and positive and negative in attitude who might be willing to talk to me. I then constructed a total sample using two children from each self-centered classroom which was as balanced as possible in race, gender, achievement, and co-operativeness.

PLAN OF THE REPORT

The report which follows starts with some observations about common characteristics and dilemmas found in the three schools which stemmed from their situation as magnets in a system which organized desegregation as Heartland did. Chapter Two deals with these issues. Chapter Three draws together some of the processes within the schools which seemed to be important in determining their character as organizations, their capacity to develop distinctive educational approaches, and the character of the experience they developed for adults and for students.

Chapters Four through Six describe the organizational character of Adams, Owens, and Mann, in that order. I have chosen this order because Adams was in many ways in the middle on a continuum. It contained elements of the striking characteristics of all the schools, and so provides the best introduction to the themes important in analyzing all three. Owens follows as the first school in chronological order and one which displays some important continuities with Adams, particularly in classroom activity structure and its effects on children. (There are significant differences between the two in this area as well.) Mann comes last, as it is best understood in contrast with the other two schools--though it also displays important continuities.

Chapter Seven compares the effects of the three schools on students. It considers the tone of interpersonal relations, interracial contact, students' statements about the quality of their experience at the schools and students' standards for judging their experience. Chapter Eight makes some concluding observations about the lessons to be learned about organizational processes in schools in general and in magnet

24

schools in particular from the study of the three schools described in these pages. A methodological Appendix describes the research process in more detail and gives the reader more information with which to assess the effects of the researcher upon the study's findings.

NOTES

[1] The following description, including the table and the map are true to the essence of Heartland's character but changed in minor details to make the city more difficult to recognize.

[2] The higher percentage of blacks in the schools than in the general population reflects primarily differential birth rates, but also a flourishing system of parochial schools in this heavily Catholic city.

[3] Some also travel to the suburbs on a state funded plan which places small numbers in the suburban communities and pays more than the cost of their education to the system. Some suburban white children come to city magnet schools in exchange.

[4] I did not interview one of the teachers who was substituting for six weeks.

[5] Regular faculty meetings at Adams conflicted with a class I was teaching from January through May of the semester I was in the school; so I saw mostly special faculty meetings.

Chapter Two

Common Results of Magnet Status for the Heartland Alternative Schools

Most of this report deals in detail with the three middle schools studied in an attempt to describe their distinctive characters and the influences which came together to make those characters. Some of these influences were planned, while others were unplanned. In this chapter I attempt to identify common influences at work at all the schools. Several of the important common influences came from the schools' shared situation as magnets and from their location within a single school system and community. Some of these common influences had a similar impact at all the schools, while others had different impacts depending upon the character and history of the school. Many of these influences would be likely to be at work in other large public school systems setting up several magnet schools as a means to desegregation.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE MAGNET SCHOOLS

The Political Viability of Magnets

When the magnet schools were first established they had broad and strong political support. This support arose from several sources. First, and most important, they offered a least painful solution to the problem of conflicting community desires and the pressures of a court order for desegregation. With a great deal of help from one way busing, they made voluntary desegregation possible. They aided one way busing when they were located in formerly all black schools, whose children were then scattered. They thus fulfilled the mandate of the court, and, at first look at least, the desires of the black community.

As far as the court order would allow, they also met the desires of many parts of the white community which were opposed to desegregation. Along with one way busing into already empty seats in white schools where enrollment was shrinking, they made it possible for schools to be desegregated without requiring whites to leave their neighborhoods.

They appealed to those portions of the white community which were favorable to desegregation or ambivalent or neutral to it, by offering them magnet schools as an educational reward for volunteering to send their children out of the neighborhood. (Because the magnet schools were desegregated, a roughly equivalent number of black families received similar educational rewards as they also attended magnet schools.) Especially in the first years, the magnet schools were attractively repainted and fixed up, busing was made very convenient with pick ups close to homes, and low student-staff ratios and extra amenities were visible within the schools.[1]

The magnets, locally called alternative schools, drew support secondly because the superintendent organized an effective campaign of publicity to advertise them. The campaign not only made the schools attractive enough to draw out sufficient numbers of volunteers to fill them, it also proclaimed a new philosophy for the district. Administrators, especially the superintendent, stated repeatedly that children have different educational needs and it was now the position of the Heartland Public Schools that varied educational programs should be offered to meet those needs. Parents would be granted the right to make choices of schools matching the educational needs and styles of their children. This rhetoric was complimentary to parents and offered them a new form of partnership and voice in school affairs. A policy of allowing families to withdraw from magnet schools and return to their neighborhood schools increased the effectiveness of this voice for parents. This last policy was only partially applied, however. Children could not return to their neighborhood school if it were fully enrolled. They could only transfer to another school where they would enhance racial balance. This condition limited black families' options more often than white families'. In the fall of 1977, the second year of the program after every one had made three choices, students were expected to stay at least the full year upon entry. However, the court case was sent back by the Appeals Court for reconsideration soon after school opened and the superintendent announced that any children who wished to return to their neighborhood schools might do so if there were room. A few did.

The community supported magnet schools for a third reason, which was also part of the superintendent's planning. It was drawn into endorsing them through a broadly representative process. In the spring of 1976 during the planning of the response to the court order, the superintendent persuaded the board to establish a committee of parents to advise the board and administration on the plan to be adopted. The committee was composed of just over one hundred representatives elected from the fifteen high school districts in the city. Parents and citizens in every school in the city met and elected representatives to go to the high school as a committee. From among these representatives were elected further representatives to go to the citywide committee and to report back to the local delegates on its activities. With very little time to act, the committee took its mission surprisingly seriously. It elected black and white co-chairpersons, and its members put in long hours of preparation and of debate to come up with a plan. The plan recommended more alternatives than did the first administration plan. It was closer to the plan finally adopted, after the court asked for revisions in the first administration plan.

This elected group turned out to be more educated, more prosperous, and more favorable to desegregation than the city as a whole. It played a part in the development of the desegregation process for two or three years, then gradually faded from sight.[2] Its prosegregationist members withdrew after a time. Others gradually became disenchanted both with the formal style of meetings and the sometimes heavyhanded style of leadership as well as with the apparent lack of impact of its recommendations on the board to whom it was formerly an advisor. It functioned little after 1979.

Nonetheless, in the early years its presence provided a channel through which active parents from all over the city could become acquainted and could organize both formally and informally to let their views be heard. And it provided a political weight which may well have influenced the board even when the board did not follow the committee's explicit recommendations. It also made visible to the city a group of parents who were obviously both diverse and in some sense representative--since they were elected and evenly divided among the geographic high school attendance areas--who favored desegregation as the morally right thing to do and who supported the alternative schools.

The Political Problems of the Magnets

It is important, however, that magnet schools had more political advantages as a short term solution to the requirement for desegregation than as a long term one. The black community rather quickly began to grow restless with the waits on snowy street corners, the long rides, and the sometimes rejecting, often simply unprepared, reception which their children found awaiting them in outlying white neighborhood schools. There began to be a good deal of publicity through various community groups about the "black burden" in the desegregation plan. The fight over East High School was symbolic of objections which were much wider than those over that single school.

Further, when the plaintiffs settled out of court, whites who had opposed desegregation ceased to fear so actively that their children might be bused into black areas. They thus stopped being grateful for policies which spared them that cost and began to be critical of the costs they did have to bear. They found their neighborhood schools fuller and more academically diverse than before. And they often objected to the cultural ways of the new children. Where those children were least welcome to begin with, they were most likely to respond aggressively to the direct and indirect signs of their lack of welcome. There was minor trouble in several schools, secondary schools especially, and one major outbreak in a high school in the fall of 1979.[3] Feeling hard pressed these whites--who included teachers as well as parents in neighborhood schools--looked at the well advertised amenities of the magnet schools, often exaggerated them,[4] and asked why resources were not spread more evenly to help them with their needs. Parents who were unable to get their children into oversubscribed magnet schools added to this current of discontent.

Supervisorial and administrative positions in the Central Office were filled with long term employees of the school system. Most of them were white men who had grown up in the city or some place like it and had acquired their experience in the Heartland system. They often had close personal ties with other whites on the staffs of the neighborhood schools and shared a ready sympathy with their point of view. Further, they generally had a fairly conservative educational outlook. The alternative schools which developed really distinctive educational approaches or which added really new programs (except the vocational programs in the high schools) seemed to them to violate good educational practice or to add frills. Thus as I interviewed various supervisorial and administrative personnel at the end of the study in 1981 it sometimes seemed that their feelings toward the various programs were inversely related to the degree of distinctiveness of the program. However, these feelings, though sometimes expressed at length or with emphasis, came out more in asides and personal comments than in their more formal answers to questions about the schools. It was still very much the case that the policy of the system was to support and to further the alternative schools, and these central office employees were good enough bureaucratic subordinates--or politically astute enough--not to say very much that could be interpreted as questioning that policy.

The school board was somewhat less constrained than the administration as the first lustre of the magnet plan began to wear off. One articulate black member constantly questioned the equity of the distribution of system resources. While praising the quality of the alternative schools, she insistently brought up the importance of providing the best quality education for every child. Equity was the symbolic word she chose. Some West Side representatives criticized the cost of the magnets. And several board members expressed serious reservations about elitism, especially at the gifted and talented schools, but also at some like the Montessori school and the elementary school for the creative arts which drew heavily from the more prosperous parts of the city. Reservations were therefore frequently expressed at board meetings about the magnets' special resources in money (and the amenities of buildings, materials, and staff it can buy), in self-selected students, and in public visibility and reputation.[5]

The Effects of the Magnets' Political Role on Their Internal Functioning

There were two kinds of very direct effects of the political role and fortunes of the magnets on their internal lives. First, they were designed primarily as a tool for desegregation. There certainly were board members, administrators and curriculum supervisors in the central office, and principals and teachers in the schools, as well as parents, who rejoiced that desegregation had provided the leverage for educational innovations that they had long desired. But the political impetus for the magnets and their life blood came from their capacity to draw students of different races to the same schools on a voluntary basis. Therefore, the criterion for a school's practical success and the necessary condition for its continued life as a magnet was its ability to draw children within acceptable racial ratios and to keep them and their parents content enough to return and to bring others after them. If a school which succeeded beautifully in following its educational blueprint did not draw volunteers or drew them from only one race, the school had not succeeded in its mission. If a school which differed from neighborhood "traditional" schools in little but its rhetoric drew students and parents in the appropriate racial ratios and kept them content enough to return and not to complain to the higher administration or board, it had succeeded in practical terms, even though some enthusiasts for its educational specialty might grumble. Thus, the capacity to draw a desegregated set of volunteers and to keep them happy, not educational distinctiveness, was the criterion of which persons responsible for a school's health and continued life had to be most aware.

Educational distinctiveness was not totally irrelevant, however, since Heartland drew significant amounts of money from Federal Title VII and Title VI magnet school grants. The system had to be able to justify their continued requests on the grounds of the educational distinctiveness of each program. And, at least initially while the schools were building reputations, it was the belief of the central administration that distinctiveness was the road to voluntary recruitment. So they pushed the schools to follow their diverse educational mandates conscientiously and thoroughly. Federal funds for training of teachers, for special materials and equipment, and for extra staffing in the areas of special program helped in this quest.

The magnets' usefulness for desegregation was extended as they became a tool to aid one way movement of blacks. If a citywide magnet were located in a formerly all black school, then the students formerly assigned to that school would have to scatter to other schools. A few would re-enroll in the citywide specialty, but unless it were seriously underenrolled it could not accomodate very many neighborhood children. Most of those scattered students could be expected to choose desegregated schools. Administrators at the schools and officials in the pupil personnel department of the central office were trained to encourage them to do so.[6] Thus the location of many citywide alternative schools in all black East Side schools contributed doubly to the desegregation process by scattering neighborhood black children into outlying neighborhood schools as well as by drawing white children into the inner city.

This second use of the magnets for desegregation turned out to be of special importance for the middle schools. As I noted in Chapter One, all of them were either moved--or considered for moving--after they were once established. They were placed in other buildings for the purpose of emptying those buildings of their local black children or filling them up again once emptied. These moves had significant impacts on the programs of all three schools. The gifted and talented program for middle school students was used both to empty Atlantic Avenue when it was originally established and to fill the emptied Horace Mann building with a desegregated student body when the high school for the college bound was unable to do so.

The Effects of Magnets' Political Role on Their Financial Base

The magnets' political role had a different kind of impact insofar as it affected their relationship to the public and their funding. Because magnets provided a political solution to white community attitudes toward desegregation at a time when unrest in Boston and Louisville were fresh in every one's minds and when bitter resistance to open housing marches in Heartland during the sixties was not long gone, influential segments of the community were glad to help them. Businesses cooperated especially in the establishment of the high school career training programs. Both the print and electronic media provided channels to advertise the alternative schools in the first year, and they provided favorable coverage of individual schools each year close to the time when parents were to sign up for the following year, as well as at intervals through the year.

The magnets' key role in the total desegregation plan, community support, and the skills of grant writers and of high officials in oral presentations in Washington won Heartland large shares of the federal money available for magnet schools--as well as substantial grants under the parts of the Title VII and Title VI programs designed for schools under court order to desegregate. This federal money mixed with local money could be used to make some of the turn of the century schools chosen as magnets bloom in their Victorian glory and to supply dramatic new equipment not only for the high school vocational programs but for a few of the elementary schools as well. Aids and special teachers were made available, class sizes were reduced, and special programs ranging from the use of computers for elementary children to lunch time arts and crafts or supervised dramatic and dance activities were provided.

But the special funding and many of the special amenities were necessarily temporary luxuries. Some of the funds bought equipment and supplies which could be used for several years, and some bought training of teachers which should remain with them. But consumable supplies, low student-teacher ratios, and staff for extra special programs had to be transferred from federal to local money or phased out in later years.

Though Heartland has continued to do well in competition for federal money, with the institution of block grants in 1982 they will experience substantial losses of federal money. Thus, the magnets will either have to do without some of their extras in staffing and supplies, and therefore in program, or the school system will have to fund all of them, thus actually increasing its monetary support of these schools.

Given the disenchantment of significant elements of the community with the alternative schools, and especially with the special privileges, which are if anything exaggerated in this part of the public eye, such increases seem unlikely. Thus, the schools will have to continue their distinctive educational approaches with monetary resources which differ very little from those of neighborhood traditional schools. The effect of these monetary changes will naturally vary with the nature of the programs, especially with their need for low student-teacher ratios and for special materials and activities which cost money.

Magnet schools then seem to face an inherent dilemma. If they are to draw students and parents in their early days they must be highly visible and they must have amenities which make them seem not only distinctive but superior. As Meyer and Rowan (1978) point out, parents often judge a school on such visible criteria as a new or especially elegant building, special programs not ordinarily offered to children at the age in question,

32

or extra staff of various kinds. All of these extras which make a school visibly attractive cost money. Magnet schools must be visible to draw volunteers, yet their very visibility, along with their cost, makes other parents or staff in the same system feel deprived if they do not have the same things.

There is a delicate line, then, between making magnets attractive enough to draw volunteers and making them so attractive that they also draw jealousy and engender feelings of deprivation throughout the rest of the system. This problem is not hard to anticipate. Felix and Jacobs (1977) pointed it out early in the development of magnet schools used on a large scale. The administrators of Heartland clearly foresaw it in using the term "alternative schools" rather than "magnet schools". They emphasized the schools' distinctiveness and variety in their rhetoric, even while more quietly providing extra amenities and an impression of superiority in their practice.

As the years go by in any system using magnets pressure for equal distribution of resources are likely to be stronger than in the early years of initial enthusiasm and, where there is a court order, relief at the absence of mandatory busing. At the same time, in these later years, the magnet schools will already have a reputation and a network of parents and students who have come to know and like the school. It remains to be seen whether the schools can continue to offer distinctive and/or superior education without their financial amenities or whether they can continue to attract a following on the basis of their earlier reputation. It is certainly in no one's interest to advertise their difficulties in continuing to offer their special education without its financial base. The individual schools want to maintain their parental following and the central administration and board have the same interests, whether or not they are willing to supply a material base to maintain it.

SYSTEMWIDE CONSTRAINTS IN DESIGNING AND IMPLEMENTING THE MAGNET SCHOOLS

Aside from the general political context which surrounded the establishment and maintenance of the magnet schools, there were more proximate pressures which shaped the choice of kinds of schools to establish and the ways in which they could be run.

Parents

It was necessary to develop a set of ideas for schools which would attract not only parents of both races but parents from diverse geographic areas and walks of life so that the magnets would have a sufficiently broad base to develop and maintain their enrollment. Magnets had to be planned with the preferences of parents, a variety of parents, in mind. To that end suggestions from the community and from schools were solicited and considered. There seems to have been special attention to schools which would attract the elite of the city, and those received the most elaborate refurbishment. These schools have also been the most persistently oversubscribed, at least in both racial categories. The prominence and the resources of these schools were not simply a matter of pleasing a powerful few; they were also a way of drawing visible people from the professions, the media, and the universities[7] into involvement with the magnet schools and into roles of informal champions of their cause both with other families and with the school board.[8] There were other programs, mostly with highly structured, skill oriented curricula, designed to appeal to a predominantly working class clientele. After the magnets were in place, it was necessary to go on pleasing the parents who were part of them, though especially necessary if these parents included articulate persons who could command a formal or informal audience among other parents in the community.

Parents in the city thus developed increased power at every level. As an overall community they had to be considered in the design of the schools. Once the magnets were functioning, formally and informally constituted groups associated with them had to be listened to when they had complaints or suggestions. Such groups could and did work hard to recruit more students for the schools. But they could also become the nucleus of an announced or unannounced exodus from a school if they felt they were not being treated right. Finally individual parents had to be well-treated lest they start to form such a nucleus for group discontent. At every level parents' desires had to be treated with respect and given weight in action if the parents in question could marshall the skills and channels of expression to spread their point of view and their pleasure or displeasure with the system or the school in question.[9] Parents of a race which was particularly needed at a school were also given particular consideration. But since many black children had to leave their neighborhood schools, few magnet schools lacked for black applicants. It was whites and the upper middle class who received the most deference.[10]

The Teachers' Union

Heartland has a powerful, well organized teachers' union to which virtually all teachers belong despite variation in their enthusiasm for it. The union saw the development of alternative schools as a possible method for administration to distinguish among teachers on the basis of competence, however named, and to develop two classes of positions. They therefore fought to maintain the principle of seniority in staffing the new schools and to maintain the privileges of the staffs in the schools which were closed and reopened as alternative schools. The administration wanted the right to choose the teachers for the new schools.

In the first summer, 1976, the two could not agree and the court stepped in to impose a compromise. The administration was allowed to pick a small percentage of the slots in the alternative schools to be filled in any way they chose. Others were to be filled by seniority, with some preference to teachers who had training and/or experience in the special approach. However, one year of experience at any time or one inservice or university course would fill the latter requirement. Failing such experience or training a teacher could be hired on the promise to get training. If it was not available at local universities the system was obligated to provide it. Further, only where schools were formally closed and then reopened as alternative schools could the existing faculty who wished to stay be denied the simple privilege to stay if they would take an inservice course in the new approach. In most cases the programs in the schools were transformed and the rules for student assignment changed, but the schools were never formally closed in the transformation to alternative schools.

Thus most of the magnet schools were staffed with the faculties of the buildings in which they were located. As attrition occurred they were filled by seniority with some preference given to persons who could present evidence of some slight acquaintance with the special approach. This fact was of crucial importance in the development of all three schools in this study—and presumably of others as well.

At the end of the first year of desegregation a strike several weeks long was fought very largely over the issue of staffing for specialty schools. But in the end the administration won only the weak provision for training and/or experience just described as a qualifier to seniority.

The Need for Haste

Though the federal judge handed down his order for desegregation in January 1976 with a requirement that only the first third of the schools be desegregated that September, the decision to use magnet schools as a route to desegregation took time, especially as the Board was appealing the court order at the same time. Then the Court sent back the first plan as insufficient, including too few magnet schools, and more had to be added. Thus the first magnet schools were put into operation essentially over the course of the summer. At Adams, the one of the three study schools opened that September, teachers left in June having made an application to continue their pattern of three separate "units" with co-operative planning among teams of teachers assigned to the same children. They were notified in August that the school would be an alternative school, drawing students from the whole city, and offering Individually Guided Education, an approach of which some had never heard—though their unit plan was a part of it. They had a choice to participate in this new school or to put in for a transfer to some unknown school for which they were certified.

Adams's teachers chose to remain with their building, faculty, and principal, but not all were happy with the change. Almost all felt very insecure when they opened school after only one week of inservice in IGE, a week shared with several elementary school faculties and aimed mostly at elementary school needs. To add to their troubles, they had neither special materials for IGE nor materials of any kind for sixth and eighth grade courses since the school had formerly served only the seventh grade.

Some teachers were angered and alienated by this scanty preparation and the fact that they had been given only a take it or leave it choice in the transformation of the school. Others felt intrigued and challenged by the new pattern. But all felt insecure and initially inadequate to the lofty claims which were made for Adams along with all the other new alternative schools.

Because of the lack of time for preparation other schools opened that year must have experienced similar problems. Further, because of the short lead time, it was not possible for the city to get much help in outside funds the first year. In the second year 1977-1978 federal magnet school money supplied Adams--and other schools--with considerable funds to order special materials and to hire substitutes while regular teachers studied IGE and co-operatively wrote a new curriculum designed for it. But these resources appeared a year and a half after the launching of the plan and a year and a half after the public was encouraged to choose Adams and the other schools on the basis of their distinctiveness and implied superiority.

Publicity

If the magnets, or alternative schools, were to draw students they had to have a high profile, to be very visible. The public attention drawn to them, also drew attention away from the one way character of most busing and from the fact that neighborhoods which had not long before kept open housing marchers out with rocks and broken bottles would now be receiving busloads of black children into their schools.

Thus it was important that the schools not only be advertised prior to their opening but that they be talked about and open to visitors after their opening. Therefore as the schools, like Adams, shakily explored their way toward distinctiveness with little experience or training to guide them, they had to be open to a train of visitors ranging from newspaper reporters, to monitors from the court, to anxious parents and even to educators from other cities eager to learn how to set up special schools. Life for the first years was conducted in a fishbowl. If teachers felt they had to improvise not only to be distinctive in their teaching but at first to teach at all without appropriate materials, the curtain was up and the lights were on as they did so.

The school administration, led by the superintendent, dealt with this constraint by simply informing subordinates all down the line that these schools would be distinctive, they would meet expectations, and that no one was publicly to express any doubt or lack of determination on that subject. Particular needs and problems were met on school-by-school basis as well as conditions and resources would allow. The system as a whole also had to improvise--and to do so with the newspapers, the court, and, to a degree, a national audience watching.

The three schools in this study had certain common experiences attributable to events in the district as a whole and the common characteristics which the three schools shared--despite their different dates of founding and different educational approaches. Some of these experiences created problems, some created advantages, and some were mixed in their effects. The rest of this chapter is devoted to these common influences upon, and experiences of, the individual schools resulting from their position within the district as a whole.

COMMON PROBLEMS FOR INDIVIDUAL MAGNET SCHOOLS

Inadequate Preparation

I have already suggested once of the most serious problems with which the schools were faced. They were put together with short lead times both for training teachers and for gathering special materials let alone for thoughtful design of curriculum or scheduling and grouping of children. Much had to be learned while doing, with trial and error. And it had to be done under the watchful eye of court monitors, media representatives and anxious parents who had been promised a superior experience readymade. These difficulties were probably greatest for the schools established in the first year, but as the stories of the three schools will show, none escaped them.

Further, because faculties were not handpicked and because the mechanisms for transferring faculty who did not co-operate with the special program were cumbersome and subject to exhausting appeals, there was little built into the programs with which to coerce or cajole an unprepared teacher who did not want to learn how to teach in a distinctive mode. Such teachers were present and had an effect upon the announced specialty at all three schools.

Moving the Programs to Varied Locations

The three schools in this study were somewhat unusual in the rate to which they were subjected to movement around the city--though other programs were moved as well. I have already argued that these moves served desegregation by scattering black children to white neighborhood schools. But these moves had a very disruptive effect on all three of the magnet programs. Even the Adams program which was not moved--apparently thanks to some effective lobbying of parents in the fall of 1978, when the most serious attempt to move it was made--lived constantly in limbo with the staff expecting only one or at most two more years before being combined with some other, as yet unknown program, in every year from 1978-1979 onwards. Teachers were reluctant to engage in long term planning, and they even told prospective parents looking at the school that they expected its life in its current form to be cut off. This instability was particularly destructive at Adams because, as I shall argue, its faculty attributed its distinctiveness to its small size, whether accurately or not, and thus they expected to lose what they believed to be its most important asset.

At Owens the move into the former Rodgers building doubled the staff and student body with notice given in August. The school thus started the fall of 1976 with half the staff and half the student body having no experience in, and very little understanding of, open education. The former Rodgers staff considered the Jesse Owens faculty to be interlopers into their school and the open education specialty to be an imposition.

Many of these teachers left the following year after the principal, creatively using bureaucracy, pointed out to them that since all classes were multi-graded including sixth grade they could only continue if they were willing to take the course necessary to be certified as elementary school teachers. But then the school had to absorb a new crop of replacements several of whom had not listed the school as a choice, and did not initially want to practice open education. The oldtimers at the school argued that even four years later it had not fully recovered from the blow of the move.

The move of the gifted and talented middle school was made by the board without prior mention in the thirty minutes surrounding midnight on August 1, 1978. It stirred up a hornet's nest of parental anger which was transferred to the new school administration. It also put the middle school in an anomalous second class status within the high school building which had far reaching implications for the life of the school.

Student Recruitment--Creaming and Dumping

Discussions of magnet schools often raise the problem of "creaming" (Levine and Havighurst, 1977; Schofield, forthcoming), drawing off the best students. This process leaves ordinary schools coping with more difficult students and gives magnet schools an unfair advantage.

There was concern over this issue in Heartland which was not totally unfounded. The elementary schools with the "best" reputations prior to desegregation lost many of their students to the magnets. One can expect that educated parents and alert and upwardly mobile less educated parents will be most likely to notice the presence of alternatives and most likely to investigate them and to be willing to take the social risks and bear the logistical inconveniences of taking advantage of them. Even though Heartland's administrators attempted to reach parents from all walks of life; even though the transfer forms were sent to the homes of all public school parents and were easy to fill out; and even though busing was free and convenient; the alternative schools did draw more than their share of the educated and upwardly mobile families in the city. To the extent that the "best" students come from such families, they will be overrepresented in magnet schools.

However, there are relatively few such families within the city and only in a few programs--at the middle school level the gifted and talented--did such families even approach supplying the majority of students. It is important to remember that especially in the first two years, school personnel were asked to counsel with their current students to encourage them to go to alternative schools. Not surprisingly many of these school principals and counselors went first not to the parents of their best, but rather of their worst, students to tell them of the bright new opportunities available to them somewhere else. Some of this process continued through the years. The middle schools felt it particularly strongly because the citywide middle schools made the full transition to being sixth through eighth grade schools. But the move of the sixth grade from all elementary schools into all middle schools, originally scheduled for 1980 has been postponed to 1985. Consequently, elementary principals eager to be free of troublesome students are likely to suggest that they would prosper better in a citywide middle school for their sixth grade year. Parents who might not otherwise look for alternatives are also more likely to do so when their child seems not to be prospering in his current setting--whether that be because he is capable and bored or because he is having academic or social difficulties.

All of the study schools had in their populations some very capable children and some slow children and an admixture of children with noticeable social problems expressed in school. Owens, as an open education school suffered especially severely from a public belief that any child who could not adjust to the social and academic demands of a traditional school might do better in an open education school. Adams also received significant numbers of children whose records showed them to have had serious previous problems. Even Mann which, as a gifted and talented school should have been most protected from dumping of children, received a few children whose "gifts" seem to have been evidenced primarily through their difficulty in co-operating or achieving in an average classroom.

As the years went by and jealousy of the magnet schools arose in the system as a whole, some schools seem to have intentionally dumped their more difficult children into the magnet schools with the message "Let's see if you look so good with these kids to deal with." One magnet principal mentioned having had several telephone calls in the spring from elementary principals warning of the difficulty of incoming students they were sending. When I asked whether these were meant to provide helpful information or to gloat, the principal replied that there were some of each kind.

Since it is difficult to estimate the proportions of well motivated children compared to problem children in the city as a whole, it is difficult to know whether the magnet schools received more than their share of both kinds or about normal proportions of one or both. It is my impression that on the whole they received more than their share of both the best and the worst--with the exception of Mann, the gifted and talented school, which clearly had more than its share of the best and less than its share of the worst because of its selective admission procedures.

COMMON BENEFITS FOR INDIVIDUAL MAGNET SCHOOLS

Voluntarism

The staffs of all the schools thought that the school benefitted from the fact that some one in each family had chosen the school, had come because they wanted to be there. Often the whole family had made the commitment, usually at least the parent had. Therefore, the family was predisposed to think well of the choice they had made, even if they were perhaps initially anxious about it, and they were predisposed to co-operate in making the student's experience a success.

There was, however, variation among the schools in the degree to which the choice was made with alternatives also in mind and with a thorough understanding of the program which was chosen. And there was consequent variation in the degree of co-operation resulting. Owens was the most distinctive school yet the least well understood and it was populated by the least alert and planful body of families. These families were sometimes puzzled by the school's program when they learned what it was. Parent orientation as well as student orientation in both formal and informal ways was a regular task.

The beneficial effects of voluntarism were most visible in the children's attitude toward the school and in the parents' willingness to support teachers in their efforts with individual children. Voluntarism became a more mixed blessing in the context of school policy. Parents felt freer to criticize school goals and programs and individual teachers' activities in a school they had chosen on the basis of an announced educational approach--which was, usually, open to differing interpretations. Magnet schools were also a setting where they knew their presence was needed and they were ultimately free to back up their demands with the option to exit.

The Hawthorne Effect

In one of the earliest organizational studies, Roethlisberger and Dickson (1947) discovered that workers at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric responded to their experiments with lighting with increased output under any condition better than bright moonlight. They were frankly puzzled, but others explained this anomalous finding with the suggestion that the workers might have improved their output in response to attention from the researchers and a sense of pride in being part of a scientific experiment. Since that time, the term Hawthorne Effect has referred to a pattern in which various social innovations improve results, at least for a while, out of a simple sense of pride and the excitement of new efforts and social attention.

In Heartland, while hurried innovation under a glare of publicity certainly created problems, it also created a Hawthorne effect in the magnet schools. Staffs came to have some feeling of being part of a great experiment, a social adventure. Parents and children often shared and boosted those feelings. Ordinary people and ordinary groups were able, for a while at least, to transcend themselves in levels of effort, energy, and imagination as they sought to make the experiment work.

Freedom from Neighborhood Cliques

Especially at the middle school level, the citywide magnet schools benefitted significantly from drawing children from all over the city. Children came to the schools from many neighborhoods and many feeder schools.[11] Adams drew from over eighty. All but a few thus came to middle school without readymade elementary school cliques. They were free to make new friends outside their old associations and old patterns of behavior--and outside their neighborhood race. They were the more free to do this because ordinarily their school friends did not go home with them. Thus, if they lived in neighborhoods where co-operation with teachers or fraternizing with another race were not approved in the adolescent culture, there was no one to tell their peers about their deviant behavior at school unless they did. The schools thus had a much freer hand in forming the social habits of the children than do most middle and junior high schools where neighborhood cliques can dicipline their members.

Further, the schools were less subject to the effects of the neighborhoods in which they were located than are most middle or junior high schools. One new principal of a desegregated neighborhood middle school in a white area which was strongly anti-black told me that one of his most serious problems had come from high school students who liked to come over to the middle school and hurl insults or stir up their younger siblings and neighbors to start confrontations. The citywide schools did not have these problems to the same degree even if they were located in residential neighborhoods, because their students were generally not from the neighborhood and so not acquainted with the older adolescents who liked to lounge about. Adams, being located downtown, had no neighborhood at all to deal with.

COMMON INFLUENCES WITH MIXED EFFECTS FOR INDIVIDUAL MAGNET SCHOOLS

Publicity

I have already suggested the mixed effects of publicity. On the one hand, at the beginning it raised both the anxiety and the resentments of teachers who found themselves expected to display skill in special educational approaches with little warning and less training, experience, or appropriate materials. On the other hand, the enormous publicity and the flattering statements made about the magnet schools, along with the eagerness and high expectations of parents and children, offered a compliment to the staffs and a stimulus for them to transcend themselves as they attempted to put together a program while on center stage.

In a sense the prefabricated reputation for excellence which the system as a whole manufactured for the magnets gave them a little cushion of capital in the form of positive public opinion which they could use while they scrambled to create the reality which had supposedly existed from the beginning. In this way the initially inflated claims were self-fulfilling prophecies. It is quite possible that the superintendent gambled on just such a process occuring in making the claims he did. Though they raised staffs' anxieties, they provided both breathing room and a stimulus for them to reach the portrait already painted of them.

Parents' Role

Parental power was particularly increased in the earliest days of the magnet program and for each school in its own early days until a steady desegregated constituency was established. This parental power had mixed effects for the school. It could constitute a problem as parents were sometimes overbearing in making demands on individual teachers, as well as on principals, in ways that angered the teachers and alienated them from parents in general. It could also be a problem as parental complaints to the central administration and board often brought pressure from above which staff in the school found unreasonable.

On the other hand, parents who became attached to the school could become formidable allies in representing its interests before the central office and the board. Some old time administrators and outside commentators such as members of the school of education at the local branch of the state university told me that Heartland had always been a system very open to parental influence. It also had long been a system where the board was relatively powerful vis-a-vis the central administration. Parents exercised some indirect power through the board. Still, the magnet school plan increased their power. This was especially true when they were organized into groups and even more so where the groups included persons with potential community influence among their number.

At Adams and Owens the parents operated as a support for the programs as they existed, and in the case of Owens for its expansion into a high school. At Mann the parents were more divided and there was a period when they created serious tension in the school's internal and external relationships.

The Tightening of Bureaucratic Linkages

So far I have spoken mostly of impersonal and sometimes only partially consciously designed chains of cause and effect, as the overnight creation of magnet schools led to the reality of schools not only filled with generally contented children of two or more racial backgrounds but also offering educational programs which did in practice more or less what they proclaimed on paper.

This effect was accomplished partly by very old-fashioned, very direct methods of organizational control. The superintendent ordered his subordinates in the central office to come up with plans which he refined along with the leaders of that group. The plans were proposed to the board which had authority to approve or disapprove them and to the court with had the same authority for the time being.[12]

Once the plans were approved, the superintendent ordered his subordinates to implement them as swiftly and thoroughly as possible (or even more swiftly and thoroughly in some people's eyes.) They in turn gave orders to their subordinates. Principals had had some say about whether they would take over schools chosen for magnets, but once in the program they were subordinates with orders to implement what had been advertised. Teachers had the choice to stay with their old schools and become part of a magnet program or to be transferred to neighborhood schools elsewhere.

Once the plan and the personnel were in place, the formal hierarchy of the school system organization came alive as it rarely does in more ordinary times. The order had gone down from the top that magnet programs would be implemented and that students would be encouraged to attend according to quotas for race. Every subordinate along the formal line found it his or her duty to accept this policy, act in its interests, and exert tight control over his or her subordinates to do the same. Consequently principals were far more tightly controlled by their supervisors than ordinarily. They were also far more dependent upon them, as these supervisors had to argue for whatever resources were seen to be needed or promised but not in practice forthcoming. And principals in turn had to exert far tighter and more peremptory supervision over their teachers than in ordinary times to see that they taught according to the canons of the special approach and that they did not offend students and parents.

This tight bureaucratic control benefitted the schools in some ways as they sought to develop their distinctive alternative forms of education. Administrative supervisors might direct principals more closely than before, but they were also dependent upon the principals' success for their own. Principals thus had some complementary power in asking for things that they needed. And principals had some backing both formally and in teachers' perceptions in issuing more peremptory orders than they normally would. Teachers could see that this was a time when the system as a whole would demand unusually uniform compliance. At least the appearance of co-operation with the specialty was required.

But this tight bureaucratic control also had its costs. Such tight control is not usual in schools. Analysts have repeatedly commented on the structural looseness of schools and school systems as Bidwell (1965) called it. Others after him have called attention to this phenomenon in various facets including both the linkage between school and school system (Burlingame, 1981; Meyer and Rowan, 1978) and that between principal and classroom teacher (Dreeben, 1973; Lortie, 1975). The more recently fashionable term for the phenomenon is loose coupling (Weick, 1976; Corwin, 1981).

The informal looseness between formally tightly linked hierarchical levels reflects organizational needs discussed in the next chapter. It is important here only that teachers in their classrooms and principals in their schools come to expect a certain level of autonomy as their right, whether or not it is sanctioned by the formal structure and regulations of the organization. When that autonomy is suddenly taken away, they are likely to question the legitimacy of the acts of the superordinate who is issuing the orders, no matter how formally correct those orders may be. Thus the principals were ambivalent about the directives they received from above. (This ambivalence varied a good deal with their own level and kind of involvement with the definition and the adoption of the special educational approach for their school.) Even more important, the teachers resented the principals' heightened assumption of a directive role in "enforcing" the practice of the specialty--though once again their own relationship to the specialty made a difference.

The tightening and enlivening of bureaucratic linkages both expedited the adoption and implementation of the special programs and generated resentments and resistance. Such resentment undercut both the implementation of the special educational approaches and the spirit of co-operation and effort more generally within the schools.

SOME IRONIES IN THE EFFECTS OF MAGNET STATUS ON INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

The Consequences of Distinctiveness

The magnet schools were intended to be distinctive. The rhetoric advertising them spoke of their variety of educational approaches designed to meet the varied needs of children, or, stated less explicitly, the varied desires of their parents. However, to the degree that the schools were really distinctive they departed from the conventional wisdom and the tried and true ways of education. They risked becoming "far out". Among the three middle schools in this study, Jesse Owens did the most thorough job of implementing the specialty it proclaimed. And that special approach was the most distinctive to begin with. As a consequence Jesse Owens was held in the least favor and regard by the curriculum supervisors and other administrative personnel with whom I talked at the central office. One, later asking not to be identified, unguardedly called it flaky--with considerable emphasis.

The high school magnets differed from the elementary and middle school ones in not changing the style of teaching or learning or the organization of time, space, and social roles, but rather simply adding a different vocationally oriented program to each comprehensive high school program. Those central office administrators with general responsibilities to whom I talked were much quicker to speak of the high school programs, and to do so with approval, than of either the elementary school or the middle school ones.[13]

A school which could draw parents and please them and a school which demanded little attention and questioned few assumptions of administrators was a good magnet school according to the feelings which were expressed by these administrators around the borders of their interviews. Formally, a school which practiced whatever it proclaimed and met the guidelines for desegregation was approved--though as money contracted administrators felt justified in making some judgements about "program quality" as well. Program quality, as understood by middle level administrators and supervisors, seemed to be associated with preparation for either academic excellence or a vocation and it seemed to include a minimum of "frills". Thus, not surprisingly for this solid midwestern blue collar community, despite the talk of educational diversity which had sprung up around the launching of magnets, the middle aged, middle level higher officials of the system in both curriculum and administration still clung to the value of a basic traditional education finished with a vocational component. The schools which went outside those parameters had their political work cut out for them within the larger organization itself.

Dealing with Social and Academic Diversity

The magnet schools were established for the purpose of desegregation. They therefore by definition had children whose social backgrounds were at least somewhat diverse by virtue of their different races. Since they drew citywide they were likely also to have children whose social class backgrounds differed and whose academic skills varied over a very large range. But the district rhetoric concerning alternative schools said very little of their social diversity. And except for federal funds from Title VII designed to help with academic diversity and human relations, which were spread among desegregated schools of all kinds, the district did little to assist the schools in adjusting to this diversity or in making an educational asset out of it. Thus the schools were left to the resources of the building staff or active parents to define the place of racial, social, and academic diversity in the school and their philosophy and strategy for dealing with it.

Because the court was alert to the possibility of internal resegregation through academic tracking, the schools were limited in their response by an understanding that such internal tracking was inappropriate, at least if it had racially segregative effects. Thus, the schools had to deal with social and especially academic diversity not only at the school level but in every classroom. Their attitudes toward this diversity and the academic structures with which they responded to it formed major components of the students' experience of school life. But crucial as this issue was to the character of each school as experienced by students, it was given little formal notice except where individual schools chose to highlight it. Even there it remained a separate issue from the implementation of the alternative program, even though it was coequal in shaping every one's experience of the school. Desegregation might be the reason to found alternative schools and the measure of their success, but integration was a topic given minimal public discussion.

The Differential Attractiveness of Various Magnet Programs

I have already suggested that the magnets had to be designed so that each one separately and all as a group would attract as wide a range of parents as possible in order that both black and white parents be attracted to each and that both community leaders and the larger rank and file of the city would be drawn to attend the magnet programs overall. However, individual schools began to attract clienteles which leaned in one direction or another in terms of social class.

Once a school began to develop an identity as attracting a certain social class, that identity began to be self-fulfilling. Upper middle class parents sought programs where they thought there would be many children of like kind. Many ambitious blue collar families joined them. Other schools were left to families either unaware of or indifferent to the attractions of high status peers. The schools with the upper middle class followings were generally those with the longest waiting lists. This pattern was compounded with the presence of a gifted and talented elementary and middle school which presented a pull for ambitious families in the mere title and in the promise of diligent and able peers whatever their social class or race.

There tended to be a snowballing effect in the benefits such schools with higher status clienteles accrued. Not only did they attract larger numbers of applicants, but they attracted articulate parents and parents with established community influence. These parents were then able directly and indirectly to further the cause of these schools. Other schools were left, at least comparatively, at a disadvantage if they did not have such students and parents. There thus developed something of an informal status hierarchy among the magnet schools themselves.

Jealousies resulting from this hierarchy were heightened by the interdependence of recruiting for the schools at a given age level. There was a limited pool of academically able children, of children of community leaders, and of children of well educated parents. If a large number of children from that pool went to any one school, then the others were relatively deprived. The principals of the other middle schools argued that they lost many of their potential academic leaders among the students to the gifted and talented program. The principal of the high school for the college bound spoke at length in a lunchtime conversation of competition among the high schools for good students and his hopes to attract as many for the Mann high school program as was humanly possible.

Enrolling highly skilled children and high status parents was not always an unmitigated blessing for the schools, however. Teachers at Adams seemed somewhat relieved that the classes following their first (and following the opening of the gifted and talented program) did not include the most highly skilled and most self-assured children who greatly widened the academic range to be dealt with and increased the volume of student criticism of daily practice. Teachers and administrators at Mann also found some of these children hard to please. Their parents could become virulently critical.

As I interviewed and talked informally with active parents at all three schools I began to notice the presence of two broad types of parents. One group who were often, but by no means always, working class compared the magnet schools to their children's former schools, saw a significant improvement, and expressed unbounded gratitude and loyalty to the magnet school. The other common group was almost always well educated and relatively affluent. They compared their children's school to an ideal of education which they carried with them, modifying it with time, reading, and experience. They were often very enthusiastic about a school at first, but then became disillusioned and even bitter within a fairly short period of time. Often their children had attended three or four different schools by the time they were in middle school.

Some of these common influences upon the magnet schools will be discussed in more detail as the story of each particular school is told. But those stories will be more comprehensible and their relevance to a general picture clearer with this summary of the commonalities in the situation of all the magnet schools in the reader's mind. The next chapter takes up the question of common processes internal to the schools' operation.

Notes

[1] These extras were especially visible in those schools which were designed to attract the most educated and most politically and economically powerful families in the city. Three elementary schools stood out in this way--the Montessori school, the elementary performing arts specialty, and the elementary school for the gifted and talented. But especially at first, there were visible amenities and close attention to parental requests in all magnet schools.

[2] A member of the committee on the faculty of the local branch of the state university surveyed the group and compared their demographic characteristic to local census figures and their attitudes to newspaper surveys of the total city. A proper citation to this study would identify the city.

[3] There was the most trouble in the 1979-1980 school year because that was the year of transition from junior high schools serving the seventh through ninth grades to middle schools designed for the sixth through eighth grade. Several high schools were extremely crowded with the addition of an extra grade and all had to cope with student bodies which were at least half new, since all ninth and tenth graders were newcomers. Students were unacquainted with each other or with the adults in the school and with the school's ways. And there was a good deal of confusion in scheduling and logistics. Thus tensions were able to grow more easily than in more stable and less crowded conditions.

[4] I spent a week in one of the outlying white junior high schools for comparison's sake. My explanations of my project brought up the subject of magnet schools with the teachers. Several spoke with envy and resentment of the magnet schools. Several asserted confidently such inaccurate facts as "Well of course they all have an aid to help every teacher." They thus saw the differences in resources as even greater than they were.

[5] Janet Schofield has described similar community reaction against a single magnet school located in a black section of another city. The building was given many extra touches and a special honors program was located there to make it attractive to whites. Blacks from the surrounding area, many of whose children could not get in, quickly came to resent the school. The school board changed its recruitment to a fixed one based on black and white feeder schools, with blacks in the majority. (Schofield, forthcoming).

[6] I happened to spend a half hour to an hour in the outer office in Pupil Personnel at the Central Office in mid-August of 1978 just before the opening of the third year of desegregation. Though I had not come to observe the workings of that office, I soon began to notice a pattern of transactions at the counter beside me. Black parents were coming in, seeking fall placements for their children. Whether they were new to the community, had moved, or had simply failed to receive notification

of fall assignments I could not tell. But the clerks behind the counter followed the same routine in each case. They assumed that the child would be bused to an outlying white school and then discussed with the parent what would be the best corner for the child to catch the bus. With patience and courtesy they searched computerized lists of bus pick up points near the child's home and studied maps to see whether the child would be required to cross a major street to reach them. If the parent had any hesitations about their first suggestion they would look for an alternative. They named the schools these particular pick up points would lead the child to and might give an address or the general location of the school. But there was no discussion initiated by either parents or clerks of the nature of the school which these pick up points would designate. This process of choice was far removed from the high considerations of matching the educational style of student and school on which the superintendent sold the plan of voluntary desegregation. In 1981, when I asked a high administration official about this scene, he said that most black attendance area schools were full in August; so black parents would have to choose a school out of the neighborhood. He argued also that early attempts to have counselors and clerks discuss available schools with parents were met with single-minded parental interest in how children would get there. So clerks were instructed to "go with the flow" and address transportation issues.

[7] There are two universities in Heartland, a private one with a strong reputation in the region and some reputation beyond it and a branch of the state university. There are also several private religiously affiliated colleges. Faculty of these institutions, especially the state university, have been prominent supporters and advisors in the desegregation process.

[8] Another smaller city followed what one of its administrators called the Fat Cat-Little Cat theory in setting up a series of magnet schools. This theory held that if magnets could be designed to draw the prosperous and community leaders, then ordinary working people would follow their lead and enroll as well. Experience bore out the theory in that instance. (Alex Sergienko, Private Communication).

[9] One central office administrator complained that a single phone call could cause a policy to be written or changed, and one school level administrator commented that in some things a well placed parental phone call could get resources denied through repeated formal requests from school administrators.

[10] This pressure did not mean that parents automatically got their way over every issue. Sometimes parents' desires were ignored--most spectacularly in this study in the midnight move of the gifted and talented program from Atlantic to Mann, described in more detail in Chapter Six. But that decision cost the system dearly in lost influence and in time spent on conflict with angry parents.

[11] Of the three study schools Mann was a partial exception, since half its children came from Peach Street Elementary School for the Gifted and Talented. But Peach Street was itself citywide and desegregated. Owens drew a smaller proportion of its students from two elementary open education schools, but they too were desegregated.

[12] In fact the board did not approve the plan for the first year. The administration proposed it and the court then imposed it--over the 8-7 vote of a board which did not want to desegregate at all pending appeal.

[13] Those elementary schools that were mentioned were also likely to be ones that added some kind of subject matter emphasis to a regular school program rather than those that altered traditional instruction. Middle schools were almost never mentioned unless I raised them as the age in which I was most interested.

Chapter Three

Common Organizational Processes in the Development of the Schools' Character

It is only recently that schools have received more than passing attention from organizational theorists. The current attention comes mostly from theorists interested in the irrationality of organizations. They have used educational organizations as empirical settings in which to develop such organizational concepts as "garbage can decision making" (Cohen, March and Olsen, 1972; March and Olsen, 1976) or loose coupling (March and Olsen, 1976; Weick, 1976). These theorists are part of a broader attack upon the dominant paradigm of organizations as fully rational social arrangements (Benson, 1977).

It is no accident that theorists in the rational tradition have ignored schools or that those attacking that tradition have chosen them as a prime example. Sociologists of education have long been aware of the insufficiency of a rational or bureaucratic model as an accurate portrayal of schools' functioning. Waller ([1932] 1965) called such a model into question in the early 1930s as he studied the outwardly hierarchical and rigid schools of small town America in that day.

Since Waller's time analysts of schools with some sophistication in organizational theory have pointed out that the fundamental organizational characteristics of schools do not lend themselves to rational patterns of activity or co-ordination. Thus while schools are goal oriented, they must seek a variety of vaguely defined and conflicting goals (Corwin, 1974a). They have neither a clearly effective technology nor standardized material with which to work (Dreeben, 1973; Jackson, 1968). Consistent with patterns in other such organizations (Lipsky, 1980; Perrow 1967; Woodward, 1965), schools therefore grant a great deal of autonomy to the actual worker who must make decisions on the spot (Lortie, 1975). Recent studies suggest that school district organizations grant the same kind of informal autonomy to individual schools which must cope with variable kinds of students and parents (Deal and Celotti, 1980; Meyer and Rowan, 1978). This autonomy is de facto, not de jure, however. Formally the teacher and the principal each remain bureaucratic subordinates following orders from above as they use known methods to reach agreed upon goals.

Theoretical literature in the study of organizations is beginning to acknowledge that what have appeared to be special characteristics of schools (or of social agencies which process people) are in fact more widely spread. The goals and technology of even straightforward manufacturing organizations are appearing to be more problematic than the rational model allows--as are the hierarchical relations of authority. Much of this thought has roots which extend back a good way in the broader study of organizations. Gouldner wrote of the competition between rational and natural systems models of organization in 1959. Themes which are now being taken up by theorists interested in general organizational models have been noted in the literature of case studies and in a minor stream of theoretical discourse for a long time.

SOME MODELS OF ORGANIZATIONS

Nonetheless there is now a more systematic and widespread interest than earlier in the characteristics and processes of organizations which fit other models than the rational bureaucratic one. Several authors have attempted to express the converging observations and analysis in the form of competing models of organization. Thus Graham Allison (1971) looked at the handling of the Cuban missile crisis through the lense of alternative organizational models. Richard Elmore (1978) has developed a different set of alternative models of organizational functioning as they are used in discussions of social agencies in particular. In the context of schools Ronald Corwin (1974b) contrasted the broad rational and natural systems models and William Firestone (1980) has attempted five models of a more descriptive or metaphorical sort. I will take elements from five implicit models of organizational structure and process as I analyze the three magnet schools described in the next chapters.

The first of these models is the rational bureaucratic model. This model implies the setting of policy only at the top. A clear division of labor and unambiguous hierarchy of authority allow division of tasks with control from above. Organizations are tools in the hands of their masters. They are rationally designed to accomplish overall goals. The efforts of members are co-ordinated through planning at the top, directions given down the hierarchy, and obedience at each step down the line. This obedience is based on the societal legitimacy of the organization as a whole and a belief in the legitimacy of the rules and hierarchy within the organization. In return for job security and a career line, the subordinate agrees to direct his own behavior in accord with the directives of those above him. Those persons with higher office are presumed to bear responsibility for their own errors in interpreting the policies as they give directives to these subordinates. Since it is the policies determined at the top which the organization is designed to enact, subordinates have discretion only in determining how particular cases fit into the definitions of situations supplied in the organization's elaborate rules for action and their superiors' specifications of them (Weber, 1958).

This model came to life in the magnet schools more than it is likely to under ordinary circumstances. The central administration was constrained by the court and then by the watching media and public to make significant changes in the school system. To do so, it exerted its formal authority over the schools far more actively than usual. It transformed a number of schools into magnets by fiat from above and placed new principals in them to carry out the new mandate. And it supervised the magnets more closely than schools are usually supervised. (Neighborhood desegregated schools were also more closely monitored. Where there was any sign of overt racial difficulty, a special support team was sent in.) In response to this pressure from above principals also acted more as bureaucratic superordinates than many ordinarily would. They gave frequent definitive commands to their faculties.

Therefore, one of my substantive arguments on the basis of the research is that there is increase in the use of bureaucratic processes under external constraints which require rapid change. But it is important in more ordinary times that the bureaucratic apparatus which often appears to be mostly a formality can be activated at any time if there is reason.

The other three models are all in various ways cast in contrast to a rational or bureaucratic model. The second model which I will use is one which usually is used in organizations staffed by professionals or skilled craftsmen. These workers--with doctors as the ultimate prototype--must make decisions on a case by case basis in their work and so they claim a good deal of autonomy, and in many cases a good deal of power to shape the rest of the organization as well. However, claims by workers immediately involved to understand the requirements of the productive work of an organization and to need the autonomy to make decisions concerning it are not uncommon even in industry.

In schools the ability of teachers to claim autonomy in the classroom and to control various aspects of the total school has been debated by analysts (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Corwin, 1970, 1981). It has been contested by practitioners in very concrete forms as teachers work out their relationships with principals and higher administrators in schools and school districts. It is in no way my intent to settle this debate either analytically or normatively. But at every school studied there was tension between the principals' claims to exert hierarchical authority and the teachers' claims to professional autonomy and discretion. The formal bureaucratic structure came in conflict with institutionalized traditions of teacher autonomy. The limits to each and the boundaries between them were unclear in the district as a whole, as in the wider occupation. They were also unclear in every school, and they were variable between schools. The tension which arose from conflicting claims often was as important in the life of the school as the practice of either model.

A third model does not see organizations as goal oriented organic entities where disagreements concern who is best qualified to direct activities in the organization's interests. Rather it sees organizations as collections of individuals striving to meet their individual ends through use of organizational facilities. Interaction is seen as political. Bargaining rather than command and obedience or principled discussion of the needs of the task is considered the dominant mode of interaction. (See for example Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Lindblom, 1965; March and Olsen, 1976). While this model taken to its logical extreme ignores very real components of goal and task oriented behavior and of the unquestioned exercise of authority in organizations--as some of its proponents readily admit (March and Olsen, 1976)--it does point to an aspect of organizational life which has been more neglected than most until the last decade. In all of the schools there were teachers whose personal ends took on organizational significance as they attempted to build a power base primarily for personal aggrandizement from which they could then affect the practice of the organization.

Dealing less with the behavior of individuals and more with that of organizational units, but still counterposed to a bureaucratic model, is the model of organizations as loosely coupled systems (March and Olsen, 1976; Meyer and Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976). Here organizations are seen as made up of semi-independent units, connected more by symbolic language than by tight bonds of superordination and supervision. As I have already suggested, such loose coupling in school systems is a de facto relationship, not a de jure one, and thus subject to change without notice if formally superordinate units are pressured by the environment to make changes. In Heartland the introduction of magnet schools tightened coupling all down the line from district to school and from total school to classroom. But this tightening met with resistance both within the individual schools and in the system as a whole.

Finally, organizations may be viewed as "institutions". Here once more the thrust of the model is a distinction from the rational model. The point of the conception of institution is the infusion of value into the mundane activities of the organization so that subordinates come to obey commands not simply because of their formal legitimacy but because they share the purposes of the organization as their own and seek to further its welfare out of their own desire (Selznick, 1957). It is important in this model of course that there be consensus in the organization on the states which constitute the welfare of the organization and the general kinds of actions which will further it. This becomes very important where organizations seek to innovate. The institutionalization of the innovation, its incorporation into the values and daily decisions of all workers, can be argued to be crucial to its long term success (Lodahl and Mitchell, 1980; Kimberly, 1980). The role of leadership, or of formal superordinates, in establishing the institutionalization either of an organization's constant mission or of an innovation is often stressed (Sproull, 1981; Lodahl and Mitchell, 1980; Selznick, 1957). This issue became important in the internal affairs of the three schools, as there was variation in the institutionalization of their innovations and indeed of the parts of some of the innovations.

It is reasonable to see these models not as competitive portraits of the totality of organizational life, but as pictures taken through different lenses. All can be usefully employed to analyze some portion of the life of any organization. Each will give a large measure of insight into some particular kinds of organizations or organizations in some particular situation. The analysis of the internal life of the three schools which follows draws upon each as it attempts to explain the empirical life of the schools.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THIS STUDY

I entered the field with the theoretical assumption that a purely rational model of organizational functioning would be inadequate to explain events in the schools. This assumption led me seek to understand and describe what was actually happening in the schools as my first order of business, rather than to ask more simply whether the formal educational innovation announced for each school was being implemented in full, in part or not at all. I expected the implementation, or non-implementation, of the innovation to be imbedded in the total character of the school.

Drawing on my own earlier work (Metz, 1978a; 1978b) in traditional schools where I found palpably different school cultures despite carefully matched student bodies, I expected to find significant differences in schools with formal missions and student bodies as different as those of the three study schools. While I was in the field some other work stressing the importance of distinctiveness arising from schools' internal processes was published (Brookover et al., 1979; Bidwell and Kasarda, 1980; Rutter et al., 1979).[1]

My analytic task then consists, first, in discovering the distinctive character of each school and rendering an accurate and evocative account of it. Second, it involves identifying the sources of that distinctive character in the internal organizational life of the school and the external pressures brought to bear upon that life. Finally, it involves assessing, though in less depth, the effects of each school's character on its students and the mechanisms through which each exerted those effects.

The sources of organizational character which I was able to uncover were not new to the organizational or educational literature, though some have been only lightly touched upon. On the other hand, they have not been systematically pulled together before to be seen as a constellation of interdependent influences which should be systematically studied in assessing the character of a school.

Consequently, I outline them in this chapter to heighten their visibility in the analysis. I believe that self-conscious study of these influences would go far to highlight and to explain differences among traditional schools. For innovative schools, the systematic study of these influences might take us beyond the repeated observation that innovations of varied kinds seem to be imperfectly or rarely implemented (Berman and McLaughlin, 1976; Baldridge and Deal, 1975; Herriott and Gross, 1979; Smith and Keith, 1971; Sussmann, 1977; Wolcott, 1977). More self-conscious attention to them by innovating schools and school districts might even affect these dismal outcomes.

These themes arose partly from my theoretical predilections, but they arose perhaps more strongly from participants' statements and from the social life I saw and the linkages which seemed to emerge as I reflected upon it. Of course the causal linkages which any analyst describes arise from an amalgam of theoretical assumptions which provide lenses for vision, personal assumptions and predilections which do the same, and those aspects of external events which can be seen after filtering through those lenses. Readers must judge whether those parts of the events which are set down here seem consistent with the causal statements I make about them.

IMPORTANT THEMES IN THE FORMATION OF SCHOOL CHARACTER

In understanding the influences which shaped the character of each school it is important to recognize the ambiguous character of school organization and therefore the importance of social shared interpretations of it. Because educational goals are varied and often vague, participants in every school--principals, teachers, students and parents--are left to interpret them for themselves. Similarly, because there is little consensus on effective technology and few ways to assess whether a teacher's technical efforts have born fruit in significant student learning (Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; McPherson, 1972), participants can legitimately differ with one another over the virtues and effectiveness of various organizational arrangements and teaching methods. The isolation of teachers in classrooms allows the development of separate interpretations of the situation among teachers who find it difficult or distasteful to move toward consensus or to discuss such issues at all. Principals are removed from the social life of teachers by their formal role as evaluators and from their practice by the closed classroom door which can be opened only under conditions of command or of trust.

Teachers' and principals' subjective interpretations of the school's goals and of its program and their conceptions of the teaching techniques and personal relationships which will further them are very important in shaping the character of the school. Unity, factional division, or dispersion of these subjective interpretations are all possible.

The importance of these subjective interpretations in shaping action in the school suggests that innovation can not be accomplished by administrative fiat. An innovation must be institutionalized in this kind of an organization if it is not to be ignored. Close supervision may take the place of institutionalization for a while, but the organization is too physically dispersed for close supervision to be feasible in the long run. Further, the traditional norms of semi-professional autonomy make close supervision objectionable to teachers and so quite possibly self-defeating.

Faculty Culture

All of the three magnet schools which are described here developed faculty cultures. Large proportions of the faculty came to share certain assumptions about the nature of children, about the appropriate character of the educational program in that school, and about their own relationship to the principal and the larger district. Particular issues had greater salience at one school than another; so that the cultures were not easily comparable in all respects. At all schools there were teachers who stood partially or wholly outside the faculty culture, oblivious to its interpretations or in disagreement with them. Nonetheless at every school the faculty culture had a significant impact on the faculty's arrangement of the school program, their efforts in the classroom, their relationships with students, and their relationships with the principal. It had, in other words a major impact on school character.

The Principal's Leadership Style

It is part of the conventional wisdom of school lore that principals are of prime importance in setting the tone of any school. And there is a good deal of literature on innovation which indicates that an initial "great man" is an important if not a necessary ingredient in organizational innovation (Clark, 1972; Kimberley, 1980; Lodahl and Mitchell, 1980). The principal has the chance to speak for and to the school and so to define the premises of both teachers' and students' view of it. In an innovative school where the innovation is introduced from above, principals define the innovation for the faculty, create enthusiasm for it and supervise its implementation. In this way their potential role in defining the character of the school is even stronger than usual. But principals' power to create subjective definitions is limited. Especially where a new principal faces an established faculty, the power of their collective definitions of reality in the school may well be stronger than that of any interpretation and persuasion he or she can muster. Thus principals struggle to set the premises for faculty culture, but they may find the premises for their own role set by that culture. Of course over the years there is likely to be a good deal of mutual influence, though it may lead to greater polarization rather than greater agreement.

The History of the School

Neither teachers nor principals develop their subjective conceptions of what schools are and should be in a vacuum. Their experiences also influence these conceptions. Thus it was important at each school to know what experiences the staff had shared both before and after the school's becoming a magnet. The juncture of the school's history at which principals entered was important to the influence they could exert and to the faculty's response to them. It was also important to the pressures principals experienced from outside the school which had a major effect on the way they played their role and therefore on the teachers' (and students') perceptions of their personality.

Because these schools were magnet schools, all of their histories included the dramatic event of their transformation to a magnet school. Some had other dramatic events in their histories. These events shaped the way persons within the schools understood the nature of their particular magnet program, the school's relationship to the wider system, and its relationship with parents and children. The effects of key events thus lingered long after they were over.

The Internal Politics of the School

While I present the variety of definitions of proper goals and strategies in the school primarily as differences in good faith efforts to interpret its mission, and I consider the common perspectives and assumptions which grew up primarily as cultural development, a complementary approach is also needed. In each school and especially in two there were restless teachers with ambitions and with grievances against the principal. They set out to mobilize support for their own point of view and against the principal's point of view. In so doing they drew upon all the issues of disagreement over the mission of the school. They questioned the appropriateness of various administrative edicts and practices, often drawing on varied understandings of the school's mission to do so. But their actions are better interpreted with a model which sees the organiwas conceptualized by staff and active parents at the school, and how it was put into daily practice.

Scheduling, Logistics, and Classroom Activity Structure

While I have emphasized the role of subjective understandings up to this point, when one looks at the programs as put into practice a shift is necessary. Every school makes decisions on the use of time and space in the daily life of students and staff. These decisions are fateful, whether or not they have the effects which were planned for them, indeed whether or not the staff gave any thought to effects from their use. One of the findings which arose most strongly from the data in this study was the effects of the scheduling and logistics of the school as a whole and the effects of the pattern of activities in classrooms upon the character of the school and the experience of the children. The effects were in some cases planned and in some cases apparently not only unplanned but unrecognized. Thus these objective practices had effects which existed aside from social interpretations and intentions.

Policies determining the character and distribution of academic rewards blended with the activity structures in classrooms to have a profound effect on the character of the school from the children's point of view.

The Effect of School Character on the Students

Most of my analysis is concerned with establishing the character of each school and seeking its sources. I will also discuss more briefly the effects of each school's distinctive character upon its students. Though the student bodies were not closely similar at entrance, it is possible to say that some strikingly visible elements in student culture were developed in response to the character of the schools. Some behaviors among the students ran counter to what one would expect on the basis of the students recruited, but were consistent with the school's character or could be explained as a reaction against it.

To explore this topic in its full depth would have required the expenditure of more time with students and the gathering of more data from them than was possible given the primary focus of the study upon the actions of the adults. Nonetheless, what data are available are interesting and suggest some hypotheses about the effects of school character and of specific school practices upon student bodies.

Plan of the Following Chapters

I have presented the sources of school character here in an order reflecting their analytic proximity to the development of school character. But as I describe each school I will present them in an order which reflects their temporal entrance into the life of the school. Thus I will give an account of the history of the school, of the initiatives for founding a magnet program, and of the rearrangement of traditional school goals, technology and structure expected and actually accomplished in that program first. Then there will be a context within which to describe the faculty culture, the principal's role, and the way in which the student body shaped the school, either passively by its characteristics, academic achievements, and initial actions or more actively by its responses to experiences in the school. To the extent the data allow, I will discuss the effects of the school upon students' relationships with teachers and with one another, upon interracial contacts, and upon academic achievement. In a separate chapter I will contrast the effects of the three schools upon their students.

Chapter Four

Adams Avenue School (Individually Guided Education)*

THE FOUNDING OF THE SCHOOL

Adams Avenue School was opened as a magnet school offering Individually Guided Education to a desegregated body of volunteers from throughout the city in the fall of 1976, the first fall of desegregation. The school maintained the staff who had been working in the building for the last four years, since 1972, while the school was named "Williams Annex". It had served a student body of seventh graders for whom there was no room at Williams Junior High School, a school serving the poorest section of Heartland's central city.

Williams Annex had been organized according to a multi-unit principle. The school was divided into three "units", groups of approximately 120 students who shared a common set of teachers for their academic subjects. These teachers also shared the students and had some time set aside for team planning of curriculum and co-ordination of treatment of students.

The school building was an old elementary building built before 1900. It was located right on the edge of Heartland's downtown area, two minutes walk from the central library and five minutes from a museum with displays on natural science and social studies well designed for secondary students. It was also located on several city bus routes leading to all parts of the city. The central office therefore selected the building as a site for a magnet in part because of its location. Williams Annex's reputation as a relatively orderly and effective school which was trying some innovative ideas also helped. Mrs. Michaels, the Administrator in Charge of Williams Annex under the Williams principal was approached by the central office in the summer of 1976 and told the school had been selected as a magnet. She was asked whether there were a particular educational approach she would like to try in that location. Since Individually Guided Education (IGE) includes the kind of multi-unit approach the school was already practicing and since she was already familiar with it, she suggested that approach. The founding of the school was thus in part at the initiative of the central office and in part at the initiative of Mrs. Michaels who was made principal of the new school.

The teachers were informed in August, a month before school opened, that they had a choice of joining the citywide pool of transferring teachers or of returning to the Williams Annex building in its new incarnation as Adams Avenue IGE School. The overwhelming majority stayed in the building and became part of the new program.

Many of the teachers had never heard of IGE before that time. Their training consisted of a week-long workshop at the end of August which they shared with the staffs of several elementary schools, toward whom the directors addressed most of their material. Because they had been an all seventh grade school, they needed the most basic materials for the sixth and eighth grade, much of which did not arrive until well into the fall. They thus opened school with inadequate preparation for even the age groupings they were given and with little idea of the distinctive approach they were supposedly offering.

---

*This chapter is a revision of a paper given under the title "Questioning the Centipede: Sources of Climate in a Magnet School" at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Boston, April 1980.

As Heartland won large shares of federal funds, the central administration did funnel these to Adams Avenue along with other magnets; so that in the second year Adams's teachers were able to use released time to educate themselves in IGE and to develop a distinctive curriculum. Additional funds made it possible for them to order special materials keyed to that curriculum.

STUDENT RECRUITMENT

At the time of the study, spring 1979, Adams Avenue was finishing its third year as a magnet school. It enrolled 328 students of whom 48 percent were white, 44 percent were black, and 8 percent were "other", mostly Hispanic and Native American. The school received money from Title I, designated to help schools with large proportions of poor students, since 34 percent of its students met the guidelines for eligibility. During 1978-1979, 59 percent of the lunches served were to students eligible for free lunch. The student body was thus weighted more heavily at the lower end of the economic scale. This fact was evident in the appearance and the English usage of the student body. Teachers in discussing the needs of individual students made casual and frequent reference to such problems as the desertion of a mother, incarceration of a father, or condemnation of the child by the courts. There thus seemed to be a significant number of students from hard-living families (Howell, 1973) and children for whom survival in their neighborhoods (some black, some white) had required them to acquire considerable street wisdom. There were, however, also many children of settled-living (Howell, 1973) working and middle class families and some children of managerial and professional families whose social lives had been quite protected.

Scores for the class who were seventh graders at the time of the study on their fifth grade standardized tests, taken the spring before most entered Adams are reported in Tables 4-1 and 4-2. The table also shows citywide scores on these tests. Adams's student body closely resembles the student body of the city of Heartland as a whole. Both fall noticeably below the national distribution on the tests.

Table 4-1

Comparison of Adams Avenue and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading at the End of Grade Five, Spring 1977

	Adams Avenue	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	80	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	63	61
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	34	33
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	14	14
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	8	6
	N=125	N=6,081

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 4-2

Comparison of Adams Avenue and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics at the End of Grade Five, 1977

	Adams Avenue	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	77	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	62	58
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	39	35
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	15	15
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	7	6
	N=125	N=5,982

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

The teachers and principal believed that some significant minority of their students were children of whom other schools had purposely rid themselves. They feared that this trend might be growing, but found the number of instances at the current time manageable--though some sixth grade teachers had their doubts about the current sixth grade class. The school had no programs in exceptional education because of its small size, and this fact helped in part to counterbalance whatever informal negative selection was at work.

The school's racial relations were considerably helped by the presence of children of a variety of social class backgrounds and a variety of achievement levels among both the white and the black group. Thus while a smaller proportion of the white than of the black students were from working and lower class backgrounds and a smaller proportion had serious academic difficulties, children from hard-living families and children with low achievement were visible in both races. There were also strong achievers and children from well-educated backgrounds in both racial groups. Thus differences of race and of social class and of achievement did not separate the children along exactly the same lines.

STUDENTS' RESPONSE TO THE SCHOOL

On the day that Adams Avenue opened its doors as a magnet school, an oddsmaker properly informed about the school's situation and about the character of organizations would have been unlikely to have placed heavy odds upon the school's success. But, allowing for some ambiguity in the term success--a point to which I shall return--the school did seem to have become successful in dealing with its students by the spring of 1979. For the moment, I shall define success in terms of positively toned daily relationships, good interracial relations, and test scores.

The congenial tone of Adams's daily life was striking to me when I started fieldwork at the school, after earlier studies in four desegregated schools in two other systems (Metz, 1978a; Metz, 1978b; Metz, 1978c). Teachers chatted with students before class about school events, activities at home, and the accomplishments of sports teams. They joked with them and the students replied in kind. Some of the older children addressed male teachers by their last name alone, as "Hey, Nemlaha, what are we going to do today?" in a tone which was casual, yet not disrespectful. "Nemlaha" would straightforwardly name the day's activity. Teachers often used humor in asking children to desist from minor distractions or to get down to work. Students were similarly enough at ease with both principals to use the open door both maintained to tell them of trouble among their acquaintances before it reached a point which would call for formal discipline.

A number of unusual practices symbolized a trust and courtesy which existed between students and teachers. Nearly every lunchtime students would knock at the door of the teachers' lounge in search of materials or information. The teacher would welcome them into the lounge and courteously give what was asked. Teachers would give students keys to get materials from locked areas without directly supervising the area. Students were allowed to use school basketballs to play after school on the outdoor playground. The assistant principal said in May that not one ball had disappeared throughout the whole year. Furthermore, the students returned them to the office without being reminded.

Negative encounters between peers or between students and teachers did occur, of course, but in most cases they were quickly resolved. Thus, teachers sometimes lost patience with students in the classroom for persistent inattention or distraction. They spoke to them in raised voices fairly frequently, but their comments usually assailed the activity, not the person. The student generally returned to the business at hand for the moment at least and the class continued more or less undisturbed. Such conflicts rarely drew upon a reservoir of accumulated tension to become dramatic social events for the class as a whole or to signal a bout in a continuing feud between a single student and teacher.

The positive tone of most relationships was underscored by its absence in a few cases. I observed five adults in full blown angry confrontations with students on repeated occasions. I will discuss the social locations of these five adults below; their departure from the common pattern helps us to understand its foundations.

Relations among students of different races were similarly short of perfect, yet noticeably better than in many schools. Teachers uniformly described children of different races as working together willingly and positively within the classroom. Outside the classroom, some children continued to associate across racial lines while others withdrew into knots of their own race.

Of the nineteen students I interviewed--carefully chosen to be as diverse a group as possible--all but two claimed to have good friends of a different race from themselves. When asked whether they would prefer their next school to be mainly of their own race or evenly racially mixed, all but two preferred a racially mixed school.

The method of participant observation cannot measure achievement as easily as it does school atmosphere, but achievement is difficult to measure really accurately even with quantitative measures. A rough approximation was possible in this study by comparing the scores on nationally standardized tests attained by a cohort of students at the end of fifth grade before they entered Adams and at the end of the seventh grade after most had had two years of experience there. Tables 4-3 and 4-4 report the data. On the reading tests the cohort seems to show modest but consistent gains. On the math tests, the strongest students gain and the weakest hold their ground, but the middle students' performance seems to have slipped. However, though the total number of students is similar in the two waves of testing, eighteen students were not tested in grade five and eleven were not tested in grade seven. Whether the missing students were the same persons at both grade levels is unknown. If students with different skills were missing at the two grade levels, their effect on the total scores at each grade level could account for the observed differences in test scores or mask other real changes in the cohort.

A cautious but tentative conclusion from these data may be that the school seems to allow students to acquire skills at an average rate and perhaps to move slightly ahead in reading skills.

Table 4-3

Comparison of Adams Avenue Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1977 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1979

	Fifth Grade	Seventh Grade
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	80	84
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	63	65
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	34	40
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	14	18
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	8	9
	N=125	N=124

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 4-4

Comparison of Adams Avenue Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1977 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1979

	Fifth Grade	Seventh Grade
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	77	84
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	62	58
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	39	33
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	15	16
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	8	9
	N=125	N=127

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

THE INNOVATION: IGE

The sources of Adams's distinctive character as a school lay in both its formal, rationally designed features, and in unplanned and sometimes unrecognized practices and behavior. The best place to begin our analysis is with the character of its formal innovation which had both planned and unplanned effects.

The Multi-unit Structure

The IGE plan is designed primarily for elementary schools (Klausmeier, Quilling, Sorenson, Way & Glasrud, 1971; Klausmeier, Rossmiller, & Sally, 1977). It calls for breaking schools down into "units", groups of somewhat over 100 students of several ages who share a common group of teachers. In adapting to the more subject centered middle school curriculum, Adams translated this pattern so that a group of 110 students, except in one case all of the same grade, shared a common group of four teachers of academic subjects.

For the students this plan had the effect of creating a smaller social context than the total school. Each unit was based on its own floor of the three story structure. Each had its own time schedule for changing classes, and each had its own lunch hour and after lunch recreation period. Thus, except for exceptional circumstances and the time before and after school, children effectively spent their day in a group of 110 rather than 330. The younger children saw very little of the older ones. This physical and temporal pattern made it possible for the children to come to know almost every one they were likely to encounter at least by sight. The personal character of encounters even in the larger spaces of the school made it more difficult for one child to victimize another under cover of anonymity. Further the personal character of relationships softened interracial tensions; since a person of another race whose name and idiosyncracies are known becomes less easily perceived as simply one of "them".

The unit organization of the school included an hour a day set aside for the four teachers of the unit to plan together. Although each teacher taught his or her special subject to four groups every day, they planned common curricular themes, common special events, and common speakers and field trips.

They spent much of their planning time discussing individual children's progress, needs, and problems. They developed fairly consistent rules and rule enforcement for the unit, and they moved toward co-ordinated strategies for dealing with individuals who were having problems. Their meetings also served directly as a control device over children, as those who yielded to the temptation to tease teachers with weak control found themselves answerable to stronger and better liked teachers for at least the more serious of their hijinks.

The common planning structure is clearly likely to unify and intensify the teachers' approach to the students. It could, however, as easily intensify a negative and hostile approach as a positive and constructive one. Though each of Adams's units differed in its style and in the topics raised in unit meetings, all were more positive than negative in tone and effect. The sources of the constructive use of this structural vehicle lay in faculty culture, discussed below.

The formal plan for IGE includes alterations in staffing so that staffs are both more differentiated and more collegial than in traditional schools. Adams developed few of these patterns in more than name. The staff remained peers and the principal exercised unapologetic hierarchical authority. Some teachers with prior experience in IGE elementary schools were restless with this pattern, but most were hardly aware that IGE implied any pattern other than the one in practice.

Technological Characteristics

For Adams's staff the heart of IGE lay in classroom practice. They consistently defined IGE in terms of two elements. The first was the specification of learning objectives together with testing of children's level of skill in each before and after it was taught, and with careful charting of each child's level of accomplishment and progress. The second element was the grouping of children according to the aspects of each objective on which they needed to work. Some teachers defined IGE in terms of only one of the two elements; very few went beyond the pair. (They did not include the unit organization in their definition because the former school, Williams Annex, had been organized in the same way without being IGE.)

Some teachers followed the IGE pattern in detail. They found it a challenge to their talents and helpful in working with a diverse group of students. Others worked with it in a loose way, specifying broad objectives and doing some testing and grouping. Yet others paid it only lip service. But because the principal made it very clear that she wanted every teacher to follow it scrupulously, those who did not do so put some effort into maintaining an appearance of so doing. Allowing for this variation, it seems fair to say that IGE made the teachers as a whole increase their consciousness of specific skills to be taught, and of concrete goals for each part of their annual effort. As a group they probably became better prepared for classes and more purposeful in directing children's skill development. This curricular self-consciousness probably also improved their classroom management skills and cut down disciplinary distractions. Thus, despite its mixed reception, IGE probably made a direct contribution to academic learning and businesslike classroom relationships.

Technological Arrangements and The Meaning of Academic Performance

But IGE had much more important effects on the school in less direct ways. First, with its injunction to test all children's levels of accomplishment on all skills and its assumption that the children of any given class will perform at scattered levels, it breaks up the concept "sixth grade work" or "eighth grade work" as a reality which should correspond with each student's agenda. Thus, the teacher can more easily see it as his or her task to challenge the sixth grader who has mastered the sixth grade curriculum already. Perhaps more important, it lifts some of the stigma from both students and teacher, if pre-tests show that students need work on the skills included in the fourth grade curriculum. If their post-tests indicate that they have made visible progress since the pre-test, even though their skills may still not have reached the sixth grade standard, both they and their teacher can nonetheless see solid evidence of the fruits of their labors together. Progress marked on their charts gives "official" evidence that students and teacher have been at work and that they have attained results. This sense of accomplishment is likely to decrease low achieving students' desire to express hostility or seek attention through classroom disruptions. And it is likely to whet their appetites and give them confidence for more academic effort. Teachers in turn, with evidence of having done their job and of having produced "results" are more likely to be kindly and helpful than they are to students in a traditional classroom who "can't keep up with sixth grade work."

Second, Adams adopted a report card, modeled in large part after those of other IGE schools, which re-enforced this acceptance of children's varied levels of objective accomplishment. It emphasized effort rather than accomplishment by replacing the traditional A, B, C with two grades for each subject. One indicated the level at which the student was working in the subject, while the other indicated his degree of effort. An I indicated superior effort and accomplishment given his level, a G average effort and progress, and an E inadequate effort or progress. Thus, at least in theory, a hardworking sixth grader progressing well with fourth grade skills might earn an I, while a lackadaisical sixth grader who does not progress far despite eighth grade level skills already acquired might receive an E.

The honor roll was based upon the number of a student's Is, not the level of work at which they were earned. This system was intended to provide rewards to the industrious but less skilled students and hope to their peers, while it constituted a prod to able students tempted to rest on their laurels. While not all teachers could bring themselves to follow the grading system in its logical extremes, the system was official policy. And it did change the composition of the honor roll to include many children whose objective accomplishments would not have earned them so high an honor.

Thus, more indirectly than directly, IGE worked to equalize social prestige among Adams's socially, racially, and academically diverse student body. Those with low skills still had a chance to earn academic legitimacy and even academic honors. And their teachers had a chance to feel that they were making progress, doing legitimate teaching, even with students who started well behind the average standard for middle school. Every one's morale was supported as the school attempted to help many such children move forward.

Activity Structure

In combination with the court's clear imperative for desegregation, the IGE approach was modified in ways which had far reaching yet seemingly unplanned effects. Officers of the court had stated quite unamiguously that the schools were not to be resegregated internally, and Adams's principal took that injunction very seriously. Therefore classroom groupings were composed of academically heterogeneous, racially balanced groupings. Grouping on the basis of pre-tests and skills was thus done within the four walls of a classroom. Since the student population possessed a wide range of skills, and since IGE expects, and the principal demanded, grouping according to skill, academic classes were virtually universally broken into small groups. Because there was ordinarily only one adult in the room with the students, it thus became necessary for the children to work independently most of the time. It was rare to see a teacher talk to a whole class for more than a few minutes.

It was even rarer for students to discuss or even answer questions except in small groups. Even within those groups, the most common pattern of activity was a brief explanation from the teacher followed by interaction between the teacher and individuals as the teacher moved around assisting, assessing, and answering questions. The rest of the class would be working at their desks.

This pattern of activity had two significant effects. First, it allowed children to move on and off task without either depending upon others or bothering others. An industrious child could work right through social interchanges among others. And a restless child could doodle, sharpen his pencil or chat with his neighbor without bothering anyone else but that neighbor. Thus the distracting activities which often bring educational activity to a halt during whole class recitation could stop and start in these classrooms with minimal effect.

Second, and perhaps more important, this pattern of activity kept students' skill levels relatively private. Since students were virtually never called upon to perform before large groups, and rarely before small ones, those with low skills did not need to suffer public embarrassment. Interestingly, teachers did not comment on this aspect of their classroom routine. But the assistant principal, who worked simultaneously in an inner city junior high, readily picked up on it when questioned in an interview. He vividly described the behavior of children in the other school who arrive in his office with relief after creating a classroom diversion serious enough to make the teacher eject them before their turn to read aloud or work a difficult math problem at the board. He said he did not have such situations to deal with at Adams Avenue.

Bossert (1979) studied the effects of classroom activity structure among third and fourth grade children. He found classrooms dominated by whole class recitation or by divided, multiple task activities also displayed differences in both teacher-student and peer relations. The multiple task classes fostered more personal relationships between teachers and students. Students' peer relationships were based upon common interests rather than upon a hierarchy of academic skill as in the groups using whole class recitation. If his findings can be generalized to older children, it seems that the multiple task structure of Adams including its many special and extracurricular activities described below may have directly helped to foster the personal and friendly relations of students and teachers. It may also have helped children to relate across races as well as across levels of ability.

Physical grouping of children around tables, rather than in rows of chairs also contributed to interracial interactions. Casual conversaton did occur in these teacher-assigned groups, and, so long as it was quiet and intermittent, teachers did not interfere with it. Students thus had a chance to become acquainted across racial lines, in required classroom groupings. These associations made many ties between members of different racial groups which softened possible division into "us" and "them". Sometimes such ties became the starting point for active friendship (cf. Schofield and Sagar, 1979).

A number of studies (e.g. Cohen, 1980; Iadicola, 1979; Robbins, 1977) suggest that these structures may have been able to operate more effectively in encouraging interracial contact and softening status differences among students because the school had approximately even distributions of black and white students, a faculty which was well mixed in race (one third black with a black member of every academic team and a black principal and curriculum co-ordinator), and a student body in which race, social class, and academic ability did not all vary together.

The privacy of academic performance, the emphasis on effort for academic rewards, and the varied activities of the school also allowed students to see one another and judge one another's performance along a variety of dimensions. Such varied contexts for judgment foster less rigid hierarchies of status than does single-minded concentration of academic tasks heavily affected by reading ability (Cohen, 1980; Rosenholtz and Rosenholtz, 1981; Simpson, 1981). Where status differences are de-emphasized interaction takes on a more reciprocal quality (Allport, 1954; Cohen, 1980; Schofield, 1979).

As the curricular structure, academic reward structure, and activity structure of Adams classes lessened strains on individuals and reduced their need to create classroom disruption, they also affected the character of the classroom as a whole. Teachers had few such disruptions to deal with; so their time and energy were freed for academic instruction or personal conversation. Further, these helpful activities indicated to students that teachers seriously intended to teach, increased students' trust and co-operativeness, and made angry outbursts and teasing sideshows even less likely. The teachers' disciplinary tasks were thus made even lighter. Thus, definitions of success and the activity structure were key pieces in a self-reinforcing cycle of personally positive, task-oriented classroom relationships.

It is significant that none of the teachers either in informal conversation or formal interviews made any reference to the effects of the activity structure they were using. The assistant principal's comments were the only ones I encountered during the whole study, and they were made in response to my direct question on the matter.[1] Thus, this very important pattern seems to have been both an unplanned and an unrecognized effect of the formal IGE pattern.

PHYSICAL LOCATION

Adams's physical location was almost an accident. With desegregation, the building was freed by movement of students out of Williams Junior High. Its principal did mention in advertising the school its small size, and its easy access to downtown facilities and to bus transportation. However, because the school lacks its own gymnasium and has limited, remodeled facilities for special junior high subjects such as home economics and shop, the school board has labeled the building unsatisfactory and considered closing it and moving the program every year since the second year of the program's life.

But the building had many advantages which contributed to co-operative student behavior and pleasant faculty-student relationships. The small building and its elementary school design meant an absence of the long dark corridors so typical of junior high schools. The halls at Adams were short, wide, and lit by natural daylight. They were large enough to allow children to change classes without jostling or traffic jams and without the echoing din which tile corridors can quickly create when children are allowed some release in conversation. Those short broad halls and the few rooms of the school also provided no place for truants from class to hide. The school had very little problem with students skipping classes they did not like. There was no place to linger and a great probability of encountering an adult who knew one's identity and approximately where one ought to be. The small size of the building also dictated the small student body. Small size generates greater intimacy, though it takes more than size to determine whether that intimacy will be positively or negatively toned.

As important as the building was Adams's location in the downtown area where no one lives and every one visits. It was thus on racially neutral territory where neither white nor black children could claim that the other group was invading "their" school. All the children arrived by bus; every one was leaving home to come there. This fact doubtless made interracial relations easier. The lack of neighborhood high school students or high school dropouts to provide models to which these younger children felt they must live up while at school was also important.

Because of its central location, Adams also genuinely drew children from all over the city; more than 80 elementary schools fed it. Most children therefore arrived without a clique of elementary school friends, usually without any friends at all. They had to make new friends, and if they should happen to make them with some one of another race, they did not have to answer to their neighborhood peer group for that fact. Similarly, if they came from neighborhoods where rejecting teachers and school gave high status in their peer culture, there was no one to tell on them at home if they should decide that they would like to see what benefits co-operation might bring.

FACULTY CULTURE

The faculty at Adams developed a distinctive culture. The cultural character of its tenets was marked by the fact that the faculty expressed them as self-evident facts of life, not values or goals which the group had consciously decided to adopt. And as in any culture, shared beliefs therefore had an effect which was more than the sum of individual attitudes.

The most striking feature of Adams's faculty culture was the shared assumption that relations among persons who are well acquainted will be positively toned. The culture also adopted a benign view of human nature which assumed there was good to be found in any person. Following from these tenets was an assumption that teachers should treat all children respectfully and expect them to reply in kind.

This culture found expression in many ways. One of the most indicative was teachers' common explanation for the positive tone of relationships in the school. Nearly all of them explained to me that size was the school's crucial characteristic; it enabled them to know each child personally they explained. (But since my most recent research was in an equally small school whose halls resounded all day long with the sounds of teachers and students in intimately hostile exchange[Metz, 1978c] I did not accept this explanation as a simple statement of fact!) Adams teachers similarly assumed that sharing of information about experiences with children in team meetings would be a source of constructive strategies for helping them. But the assistant principal, who worked simultaneously in another school with teams, vividly described in his interview how such team sharing could spread one teacher's anger and rejection of a student to a whole team. Finally, Adams teachers were puzzled when I commented upon the student body's friendly reception of all the acts in an amateur talent show, despite the fact that they ranged from dreadful to excellent and from purely white in cultural style to purely black. They did not understand why I should remark upon this audience response or seek its sources. "The students know each other," they explained with the shrug of self-evident comment.

The cultural assumption that all students have some good points and all deserve respectful treatment bridged racial lines. None of the children mentioned racial discrimination by teachers in their interviews, nor did black teachers speak of generalized discrimination against black children. In unit meetings and in the lounge I was consistently unable to tell the race of children whose names were under discussion. Working groups in the classrooms were fairly well mixed by race, though sometimes the fastest was all white or the slowest all black. Some teachers mentioned making a conscious effort to include black children in the fastest group and then give them extra support if they needed it.

There was structural support for this attitude in the composition of the teaching and administrative staff, 31 percent of whom were black. In addition, there were several aides, most of whom were black. Each team of academic teachers included one black member, and informal gatherings in the teachers' lounge were almost always racially integrated. This pattern not only inhibited the overt public expression of whatever prejudices individuals might hold, it also provided an adult who could interpret the point of view or experience of children of different races. While I never heard such interpretations explicitly made, I did hear teachers speak for children's perspectives in ways that it seemed to me came most easily from an adult of the same race.

In organizations, as in society, the culture does not "take" equally on all individuals. At Adams, there were some teachers who held aloof from others and some who were new and not yet thoroughly socialized. Interestingly, four of the five teachers whom I observed in repeated angry confrontations with students fell into this category. The fifth was in chronic pain, a condition likely to shorten one's temper under any circumstances. Of the other four, three had been in the school less than two years and two had not yet served a full year. Two were rarely present in the teachers' lounge and two others were marginal participants in interaction there. They were thus less exposed than most to the influence of faculty culture. This fact showed in their hostile manner of talking about students as well as to them.

However, all five of these teachers also set up different structures of relations with their classes than did most of their peers. Two attempted many more activities involving whole group recitation than did others. And all failed to circulate among their students helping individuals when they were working in separate groups. They either carried on whole group instruction with small groups or stationed themselves at their desks (or drawing an observer into conversation). They thus did not reap the benefits in co-operation of the structural pattern described above as typical of the school and they did not have as much opportunity to become personally acquainted with their students. It is hard to know how much their isolation from faculty culture was a cause, and how much a consequence, of difficult relationships with children.

When these teachers confronted students in angry tones, the students returned the anger. In these relationships Adams children could be as explosive as any I had seen in traditional schools. These exceptional patterns of interaction underscore the importance of faculty culture and the modal kinds of relationships it engendered to the character of the school. Each teacher's maintenance of pleasant and co-operative relationships depended upon the other teachers' similar behavior. It is far easier to maintain twenty-five good moods than to create them in children who enter a classroom tense and angry from their last hour's experience. Given the easier task of maintaining rather than creating co-operative moods, each teacher required less skill and emotional energy to send the students along to the next class in a pleasant and task-oriented frame of mind. Thus the assumptions of the faculty culture, along with the structure of classroom activities, maintained a pattern where each teacher's behavior supported the efforts of other teachers. The behavior of the deviant teachers and the students' reaction to it indicate the importance--and the fragility--of the culture and structure in creating Adams's character.

THE PRINCIPAL

Though it was difficult to see direct evidence of the causal connections, patterns in the school suggested that Mrs. Michaels was an important source of the emphasis on positive responses to and care for children in the faculty culture. Though Mrs. Michaels clearly believed in teaching the basic skills and in the kind of basic, skill-oriented kind of curricular approach which IGE represents, students' personal development was at least as important in her eyes. With a background in counseling, she stoutly maintained that children "need to feel good about themselves" if they are to be effective learners. She thus saw fostering a positive self-image in every child to be an integral part of the school's mission. She bent considerable energies to this task herself in working with individual children, and she encouraged the faculty to relate to children in the same way.

She also thought it part of the school's mission to foster positive social relationships among the children. She instituted a number of schoolwide programs and activities with this aim in mind, and she encouraged each unit to run activities designed for human relations. Further, she thought that if children are expected to work hard in school, there must be some activities which are fun as well, or those who find the work most onerous may not come at all. To this end she mandated some special days and events during school hours which were designed more for delight than enlightenment. And she encouraged and actively facilitated co-operation for teachers who ran extracurricular activities. The school had a large and imaginative array of these ranging from a camping club which took several overnight trips to a camera club which made cardboard box cameras and developed their own pictures.

Williams Annex had been staffed with volunteers and persons with the lowest seniority from the faculty at Williams Junior High. The faculty were thus

72

unusually young, and replacements over its four year life also tended to be young teachers with little or no experience. Thus the faculty were apt to consider the student body, the multi-unit structure of the Annex, and Mrs. Michaels's leadership to be "normal" school conditions. They had little other experience against which to measure them. Thus, it is quite likely that the faculty's positive view of human nature and the emphasis on respect for students was in part a reflection of a tone set by Mrs. Michaels at the outset of the school and then carried on by the faculty.[2] No matter how much the faculty might question Mrs. Michael's policies, including some of her time-consuming human relations activities, all but the most alienated admired her for her concern and hard work for children's welfare. She thus set an example for their central values.

While the principal's first priority might be the students' sense of comfort with themselves and their capacities, and another priority might be respect for one's own and others' ethnic heritages, these were not enough for the expectations of the central office--especially in the earliest days of the school. The school was advertised as an IGE school and if the school system were to keep its promises to volunteering parents--and to continue to attract them on the basis of educational diversity--it had to come as close as possible to actually offering IGE.

The principal occupies the social location where the strains of loose coupling in public schools bear most heavily. He or she is responsible for the effective activity of the staff, yet the teachers have informal autonomy supported by their classroom doors which make them difficult to control. The principal also has some informal autonomy but only until things go wrong. In the case of Adams, the principal received the worst of both worlds. Her position became much more tightly coupled to central office superiors who expected a respectable rendition of IGE as well as incident-free desegregation, and happy students and parents. At the same time, she received few extra resources to help the school staff, and few extra resources of control over them. For the most part her only extra measure of control lay in the staff's awareness that parents, central office supervisors, and the court appointed monitoring board were watching them, especially during the first year or two.

In this context, it is not surprising that the principal of Adams, Mrs. Michaels, took a firmly hierarchical stance toward her faculty when the school was transformed to Adams Avenue IGE School.[3] She insisted that they put into practice the essential elements of IGE--explicit objectives, pre- and post-testing, charting, and grouping by achievement on each objective. She also embraced and enforced the court's strictures against between classroom ability grouping because of its potentially segregating effects. Her use of the committee structures of IGE more for simple communication and one-way policy direction than for policy discussion is not surprising in this context.[4]

The tone of her relationship with the faculty was deeply affected by her decision in the first year of the program to give three teachers administrative transfers on the grounds that their teaching was not suited to the IGE specialty. This act made concrete for the rest of the faculty her position as a bureaucratic superordinate with some measure of coercive power over them. But most of the faculty were unsure why she had chosen the particular three teachers she did. Thus, they thought the act to be hasty and unreasonable, since every one was struggling and new at the special task. Even some strong teachers who agreed with her educational priorities and admired her work in the school came to feel insecure and distrustful of her support to them as individuals, to feel they were expendable in comparison to the program. The last was in part precisely the message intended. Thus, by this act, the principal strengthened her formal control over the faculty at the same time that she weakened their personal loyalty and her own informal influence.

When I asked the principal how she did choose the teachers to transfer, she simply said she picked the three worst cases. Even one of the union teachers responsible for helping the three, who thus knew more about them than most, admitted that two of the three were weak in either content or classroom management. But this was not all. Two parents spoke in an interview with satisfaction of "our" having "gotten rid of Mrs. W.________." One teacher suggested a similar interpretation based upon his having heard many students discuss their experiences with the third teacher among themselves. He described the teacher as disliking and treating unfairly students from the most affluent homes. Thus in asserting her formal power through the transfers, Mrs. Michael may have been yielding to environmental pressures as well as exercising her own judgment.

The incident did not end there. One of the teachers took the transfer all the way through the union grievance process. Two years later during the spring of the study, there was a prolonged formal hearing which brought the old resentments of it back to the forefront of faculty attention.

The advent of magnet status put the principal in a bind of tightened coupling and heightened expectations from above with only a partial tightening of her own coupling with teachers and only a partial increase in the resources with which to meet expectations. But it also provided some opportunities. It heightened the prestige of the school and created a kind of Hawthorne effect which encouraged all but the most cynical of teachers to try to stretch to meet the glowing picture of the school presented to the outside world. In this process the principal, as formal leader of the school, gained a certain measure of status and of leverage to lead the staff not only in the formally pronounced specialty but in other directions which she defined as compatible. Mrs. Michael did not let this opportunity slip by her as she fostered special human relations activities and interracial extracurricular activities.[5]

SCHOOL HISTORY

When the school was transformed to Adams Avenue and received a more diverse clientele, the change constituted a considerable rise in status for this faculty. It supplied a clientele which most expected to be easier to work with. Because they had had such an economically depressed population before, the teachers were not uncomfortable with the white or black children who came from hard-living families, nor did they despair over those with low skills. In fact, the hardest adjustments came in dealing with the highly skilled, socially demanding children of the most educated and affluent families. A few of the black teachers especially said that they found the initial adjustment to these children difficult. And some teachers indirectly expressed dislike or resentment of these children who seemed to them arrogant in their self-assurance and expectations for individual consideration. But in general the adjustment to the new student body was not difficult--a significant advantage in a newly desegregated school.[6]

However, the staff experienced severe strain in the sudden transition to IGE and the close administrative, parental and public surveillance of the school during the first two years. The principal's hierarchical and demanding style (considerably exaggerated in comparison to her manner as head of Williams Annex) and her transfer of the three teachers made her seem more like a demanding and unreasonable judge than an ally and supporter of their efforts. Thus, the teachers directed their resentment for tensions in the situation upward toward the administration, not downward toward the students. Their anger at the administration thus could serve as something of a safety valve for the inevitable tensions which did build up in the classroom. When things went badly, they could gripe and feel anger at the principal rather than at the students.

INTERNAL POLITICS

Resistance to the principal did not revolve simply around matters of personal style or her responsibilities as enforcer of the school's specialty. There were teachers who disagreed with her on matters of policy and principle. One group found IGE's skill-based, incremental assumptions poorly matched to the teaching of their subjects. Another group were most interested in the needs of the highest achieving children and questioned whether the blunting of competition and lack of emphasis upon objective levels of achievement served them well. Though these positions sometimes masked a teacher's sloth or disdain for low achievers, in most teachers they were honest differences on policy issues where it is difficult to maximize all possible benefits. Given these disagreements and the requirements that the principal achieve a peaceful school with IGE universally applied, her hierarchical methods become understandable. Even though they may have been high-handed at times and have left some basic problems unresolved, it is clear that collective decision making would never have produced the quick results demanded by the central office.

The principal was not enamored of the union and some strong union supporters resented her for this. This tension was deepened by a division between strikers and non-strikers among the faculty, and the fact that the majority of the non-strikers, like the principal, were black. (Throughout the city most black teachers did not strike.)

But the greatest political resistance to the principal came from a small clique of teachers led by a teacher with whom her policy differences were compounded by severe differences of personal lifestyle and by consequent mutual dislike. This teacher systematically set about recruiting opposition to her. He established himself as a major leader in the union within the school and as a recognizable one in the union citywide. He played upon all the sources of discontent discussed above as he talked with various faculty members, using these matters of pedagogical difference to build personal antagonism. He also questioned whether the principal would have been chosen had she not been a black woman, thus mobilizing the latent discontent of some teachers--particularly the many white men--over being subject to the authority of a woman or a black or both. This teacher and one of his small group of close supporters testified against the principal at the hearing over the transferred teacher.

As they gave accounts of this hearing, the level of discontent among faculty noticeably increased. Had the union won the case, he might have gained more dominance and the faculty might have become openly rebellious and have changed a good deal about the school. But the finding by the arbitrator supported the principal sufficiently so that the teacher, plagued also by personal problems, resigned from both the school and the system.

As March and Olsen (1976) point out, we consider too rarely how events in organizations might have been different except for small changes. Powerful as all the pressures given above may be in determining Adams's character, it is possible that political mobilization of scattered discontent spearheaded by this teacher and his followers could have radically affected the character of the school.

But if it had, it would have done so because the opponents of the principal were basing their attack on some wider social trends in the school. During the third year of the school's life, the year of the study, it had developed a reputation as a "success". The central office, board, court, and parents had all relaxed their surveillance. This fact lowered the outside pressure on the school. It also lowered the principal's base of power.

The teachers and principal also felt that year that the school was beginning to jell. They were hitting their stride; they had a school which was beginning to live up to its reputation and which was starting to develop a degree of stability and normalcy. This fact allowed the principal to relax somewhat. Several teachers said she had "mellowed" that year. She began to talk less in terms of demanding things from teachers and more in terms of supporting them in their growth.[7]

But this more relaxed external and internal setting, made it possible for policy differences which had been put aside under the earlier iron hand of formal bureaucratic control to demand clearer attention. Because the school was under less surveillance for its orthodoxy of IGE and fairness of desegregation, it was more possible to discuss openly and legitimately the limits of IGE and the difficulty of meeting the needs of all students equally. Thus, while the rebellious teacher might have a personal vendetta with the principal, he was able to glean support by appealing to legitimate differences over pedagogy and priorities which had been shunted aside in the rush to create an overnight transformation of the school. Some of his followers, or others with more policy oriented interests, may still raise these differences either openly or in silent and now safer noncompliance and seriously change the character of the school. Since these changes will involve an interaction of many influences it is hard to predict their direction or effects.

SOME OTHER EFFECTS OF ADAMS'S DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER ON STUDENTS

Adams developed distinctive characteristics beyond its improvement of test scores, good order, and hospitable interracial relations. The faculty as a body were led by the IGE model and its emphasis upon the acquisition of skills to concentrate upon the formal curriculum and upon formal skill development. The teachers of subjects like art and home economics which were less skill-oriented differed somewhat in this respect, and it was they who carried the majority of the school's extracurricular activities and special events. Still, in this faculty, especially among the academic teachers, there was little discussion of, or visible attention to, other ends of education such as the building of character (beyond improving manners), the development of independence or the nurturing of curiosity.

The students developed some common characteristics which are harder to measure than those I have discussed so far, yet which seemed quite evident to an outsider observing classes and talking with students in interviews. Students were marked by a continued childlike character even through the eighth grade, when students in many schools have moved into adolescent patterns. Adams's students approached the research interview with diffidence but not with fear. They expected to answer the adult's question and wait for the next, not to expand or elaborate upon their own perspective on the school. Their style of interaction was direct and trusting. Their comments were positive and unreflective. When asked at the end of the interview what they would change about the school, their wishes were concrete and simple, most of them concerned with improving physical facilities. They maintained a kind of freshness, and even sweetness, of style but they were also naive and uncritical.

The fresh and sweet quality of the students was perhaps most striking when it lent an aura to the interactional style of children I knew to be reasonably streetwise products of rough neighborhoods. They could have simply learned the cultural style of the school and assumed it where it seemed appropriate to others' desires. But it is also possible that the school provided them an island in their lives where they could return to an attitude they could not afford in the cultural context of their neighborhoods. One white boy talked with some feeling of his relief at not having to deal at Adams with the daily fights which dominated the life of the upper grades in his school in a poor white neighborhood.

Few staff members seemed to be aware of this quality in the children as a distinctive one. Only two mentioned it explicitly. The assistant principal, who had recent experience in some other schools, spontaneously mentioned a childlike quality in the students as he described their play on the playground in contrast to that he had seen at other junior highs (in poor white and black neighborhoods):

> Another thing that's really distinctive about this school is the way kids play on rec...You'll see 70% of the kids really playing like kids. And a few of them standing and talking, but not really talking, more sociable like. You know, goofing around. Which is in super contrast to what you'd see on playgrounds at junior highs and even other middle schools. Where kids [are] leaning against the fence, and try to get away with stuff. And try to smoke or try to leave the playground, all that kind of thing.
>
> So I think that this school although it really... gives kids responsibilities like going down to the central library and the [athletic club gymnasium]--it also allows them to be kids. And to be goofy.

> Without having to wonder if they're too old to act like that. To have that much fun.
>
> ...And I know that these very same kids can cope and survive in their neighborhoods well. And when we get them we have an orientation, and we kind of have to shake them out of that. But then I think they really relax when they are here.

He saw the childlike qualities of the children as benefits of the school in contrast to the alienated hip quality of children in the schools to which he was used. The only other staff member to comment on the students' remaining in younger stages, had quite a different context for contrast, Jesse Owens open education school which enrolled pupils on a basis similar to Adams's. She was more negative in her assessment. In contrast to the students in the open education school, Adams's students seemed to her lacking in initiative, drives, or curiosities of their own. And indeed--though a few students initiated and carried through projects on their own, most of the time Adams students expected to carry out activities suggested and designed by adults.

It seems to this observer that these two people whose proximate experience elsewhere provided perspective on the school were both accurate in their descriptions, though they differed in their evaluations. Adams developed a distinctive ambience as a school. The staff spent little time discussing or thinking about discipline and the maintenance of order, because they maintained order so well.[8] And they did so with a tender personal embrace which supported children's sense of worth and developed their skills, but which kept them still children. The school did very little to encourage independent thought or skeptical questioning. It did not raise social issues, even the proximate ones of economic and cultural differences among the children themselves. Like a loving patriarchal family, it issued directions from the top down, from principal to teacher and from teacher to student. As a consequence it reaped benefits of warmth and acceptance, and it paid the cost of unreflective acceptance of things as they are and innocent ignorance of the turbulent but fascinating world from which the children came and to which they would return.[9]

Adams's importance for students of the educational scene lies partly in its combination not only of children of different races, but of children of different class backgrounds. Many studies have found that the class background of a student body is correlated with achievement, but more recently scattered studies are also exploring the effect of parents' social class on the goals and interactional styles of adults within the school. This literature suggests that schools do adjust to the expectations of parents (Gracey, 1972; Joffe, 1977) sometimes against the wishes of the staff. In other cases schools may be tailored to the perceived desires of parents or to teachers' own expectations of children's future roles in life based upon the roles of their parents (Swidler, 1976; Wilcox, 1981). These studies suggest that upper status parents and children are more likely to want work which allows children to share in goal setting and which gives them experience in oral presentations and in developing and defending individual interests and arguments. Working class parents are more likely to prefer goals which stress basic skills and written work which follows an externally set curriculum and encourages the child to accept it more or less uncritically.

It is not surprising in this light that some of the upper middle class students, perhaps even more their parents, were restless with the dominance of seatwork in Adams's academic classes. Some of the teachers who were especially interested in these students were similarly restless with it.[10] This restlessness was expressed in the withdrawal of a few children from the school and in the presence of decreasing numbers of upper middle class children in succeeding entering classes.[11] The patterns of the school were more congenial to lower middle class and working class parents and their children, who eagerly replaced the upper middle class children in classes entering in later years.

Some of the same teachers, children, and parents were unhappy with Adams's muting of competition. The definition of appropriate curriculum the report card, and the honor roll all bolstered the morale of hardworking students whose skills were below grade level by removing a single standard of success. But they simultaneously decreased the rewards available to the capable student who worked above grade level. If an emphasis on seatwork prevented poor students from facing public embarrassment, it prevented good students from reaping as much public praise as they would with oral work. And if the honor roll was accessible to industrious but less skilled children, it became less of an honor for children who were skilled as well as industrious. Several teachers were seriously concerned that the lack of public reward for objectively outstanding work was lessening the commitment of effort of the more able students. This lack of public, competitive reward may have influenced an exodus of the most able students. The younger classes had fewer students working significantly above grade level. Adams's success was bought at a price.

CONCLUSION

This analysis of Adams Avenue School indicates that the relations of the system with the school and of the principal with the teachers were tightly coupled in some respects and loosely coupled in others. Similarly the character of the school was in some ways very much the consequence of rational design carried out through the bureaucratic chain of command, and in other ways the result of spontaneous unplanned influences, sometimes of influences whose existence or effects the participants did not even recognize. To understand Adams's functioning is to give due recognition to the importance of formal bureaucracy, and the rational model of organizational analysis which parallels it, while recognizing that the overall character of the school represents a complex interpenetration of formal bureaucracy with structural, cultural, historical, political, and even architectural influences.

I have not been able to assess the weight of each influence or to give satisfactory evidence on the consequences of changing the nature of any single one. Quite possibly each of the factors I have discussed is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition of the character of the school as it currently is. Quite possibly change in any one would set off reverberating effects which would change many of the others and thus the total causal picture. Quite probably change in at least a few (classroom activity structure, faculty culture) would have such effects. I have, I hope, at least illustrated the proposition that the organizational character of schools depends upon a web of interacting influences.

It is possible to make some judgments of causal priority. It seems clear that Adams Avenue implemented its informal goals of consideration of students, of making them "feel good about themselves" and fostering constructive social relationships better than it carried out its formal goal of offering an IGE method of instruction. It seems reasonable to suggest that these informal goals were carried out better because they had grown up throughout the life of the school from its first founding as Williams Annex. The teachers as a group and as individuals had made them their own--even if they did not have a common or explicit language for them. Where individual teachers failed to share the goals or were dramatically unskilled in pursuing them, the students behaved quite differently.

The IGE pattern of instruction had been suddenly imposed from the top down without opportunity for staff discussion and without much instruction in methods in the first year. It was less successful. The team co-operation which had been present from the school's beginning proceeded more smoothly and effectively than IGE. Where patterns are started with a school's founding and with the coming together of strangers and where they are shared by most participants one would expect them to take better root and find fuller expression. Adams's experience is consistent with such a perspective. Of course some teachers did become attached to the IGE pattern and pursue it enthusiastically; in their classrooms it was implemented.

If events at Adams are at all typical, it seems that hierarchical imposition of an innovation from the top may be quite effective in the short run in at least creating the appearance of compliance. But in a school it is likely to create resentment over incursion into the teacher's private territory and conflict between principals and teachers. The IGE innovation involved alterations in the heart of curriculum and classroom practice, the areas most zealously guarded by teachers as their private domain (Corwin, 1981; Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; McPherson, 1972). The price paid for Adams's seeming thorough compliance and actual partial compliance was one of tension between the principal and the teachers. The tension was contained in that relationship and had relatively little effect on the relations of teachers and students because of the teachers' unspoken consensus on the importance of maintaining supportive, positively toned relations with students and their recognition of the principal's efforts in that direction. At Mann, as we shall see in Chapter Six, similar resentment over the hierarchical imposition of an innovation was not buffered by such a common emphasis on constructive classroom relationships. Students' experience was more affected by conflict between teachers and administrators.

It was perhaps also an important part of the pattern at Adams that parents seemed to judge the school more by children's state of harmony with the school and their academic effort and general academic progress than by its purity in offering IGE. A few parents with whom I spoke told me that they did not think the school offered genuine IGE[12] but that since their children seemed to be happy and to be learning this lack was not a serious source of concern. Others had little technical sense for IGE and judged the school more simply by the same criteria. Parents therefore did not push the school to be more exacting in its standards for IGE.

Adams's overall development may teach a further lesson about the development of magnet schools. If Adams is typical it seems that in the short run a school can go far on few resources with the boost which comes from a prefabricated reputation as a magnet and the extra effort and morale generated among the staff by their participation in an educational adventure. But as the excitement, the newness, and the public attention fade away, the school must have developed structures, routines of activity, cultural assumptions, political agreement, and supporting resources which will allow it to continue its success without the external support and surveillance and the sense of new adventure which the early years bring.

NOTES

[1] Mrs. Michaels did not mention this pattern to me in conversations during the fieldwork, several of which touched on grouping and grading of students. But after she read a draft of the paper on which this chapter is based, in which this pattern was mentioned, she did speak of recognizing the association of privacy and pride.

[2] In a conversation after reading another paper which discusses this issue at more length (Metz, forthcoming), Mrs. Michaels pointed out to me that she worked intensively with the teachers at Williams Annex trying to get them to share her perspective on both the ends and means of discipline and general management of student problems. She had teachers sit in on the conferences in which she worked with students sent out for discipline. She met with teams as they sought ways to deal constructively with children having problems.

[3] Mrs. Michaels reponded to this point in another paper (Metz, forthcoming) with the statement that she chose to take a hierarchical and coercive role more freely than I have suggested. She said she chose it because she thought it the most efficient and effective way to get the teachers engaged in the new program and putting out their fullest efforts. She also found that the teachers remaining from Williams Annex did not see her as fully in charge, since she had always been formally subject to the authority of the principal at the main Williams building. She thus needed to dramatize for them the fact that she was now unquestionably at the head of the ship in the new Adams Avenue program.

[4] Wolcott (1973) suggests that a principal may administer his school in much the way that his own efforts are administered by those above him. Such a tendency may be only partly a matter of socialization into an organizational style. It may also be a reflection of principals' realistic assessment of the priorities of their superiors and the availability of their support should the principal's actions be challenged.

[5] It seems fair to say that Mrs. Michaels's goals for Adams exceeded those of the system as a whole. She was more concerned with good personal relations and interracial relations which went beyond non-hostility to easy mutual interchange on the basis of equal status. She also was concerned with more than the appearance of IGE, because she thought it an effective way to encourage achievement and good relationships among diverse children. For these kinds of goals, which exceed those needed by the system as a whole, the principal has to marshall internal resources and whatever system resources are available to be turned to internal purposes (Watson, 1978).

[6] Black teachers with experience only in all black schools did speak of some misgivings as they anticipated cultural differences and racial prejudices in their white students. And some said it took a little while to become adjusted to this new group.

[7] Mrs. Michaels argues that here also she was less constrained in her actions

than I suggest. She found "fear motivation" can only work for a limited time as an overall policy and for that reason she let up the pressure on the teachers. But she thinks she could switch back to it if she needed to, and says that she occasionally does do so as she deals with individuals.

[8] I have argued elsewhere, that the maintenance of an attitude of childlike acceptance of adult direction among students is one of the most effective methods of maintaining order in a school (Metz, 1978) and I have argued that it is likely to have exactly the costs which the teacher from the open education school perceived at Adams.

[9] When I returned to talk about my findings with the teachers, several expressed doubts about the effects of the school's protected atmosphere--which they saw in terms of size and perhaps a gentle, personal tone--on graduates who would find themselves in high schools of 2500 students. The eighth grade teachers said some of their students had come back and talked of their initial shock on encountering shakedowns and interracial hostilities in such schools.

[10] It is important that this pattern also was very demanding for teachers, who thus had their own reasons to want to see it changed. They were teaching several sets of material at once, several times a day instead of teaching one set of material to one group at a time.

[11] It is difficult to know how important the activity structures of the school were to the decreasing numbers of upper middle class children, because after Adams's first year the middle school for the "gifted and talented" drew heavily from the pool of upper middle class children who might have attended Adams Avenue and whose older brothers or sisters in some cases had.

[12] Their definitions were often formed by elementary IGE schools which grouped most classes homogeneously regardless of considerable racial resegregation.

Chapter Five

Jesse Owens Open Education School

Jesse Owens Open Education School differed in important ways from Adams Avenue. Many of these differences were made clear to me from the very first days of my presence there--in fact from before my formal entrance as I engaged in several conversations with the principal attempting to gain entrance to the school.

First, Jesse Owens differed importantly in the matter of its founding. It had been founded at the initiative of the school staff in the early 1970s with the reluctant accord of the central office. The staff of the school had wanted many small exceptions to general procedures and as they told it, they had had to fight with the central office and often to carry the issue to the school board to get permission for each one. At Jesse Owens then, the distinctiveness of the program was internally based, of long standing, and the result of unified effort over against the central office. The school thus differed in this very significant way from the magnet schools which offered programs invented by the central office and imposed on a school from without. (Adams was a mixed case in this regard.)

Second, one had only to visit the school for half a day to see that it differed substantially in program from traditional middle or junior high schools. The students were based in self-contained classrooms, except for one period during the day when they were scattered to "specialized center classes. They planned individual programs of activity for each day, in consultation with their teachers, and moved about the school on an individual basis pursuing the resources to carry out those programs. Thus the use of time and space, the relationships of students and teachers, and the curriculum were all substantially different from those in traditional schools. The distinctive program and its health and integrity were a touchstone for large and small decisions in the school.

Consequently, though there was no dearth of internal discussion and debate, the faculty generally faced both the students and influences from outside the school with the promulgation of the school's distinctive educational approach as their primary consideration. In this setting some of the issues which arose in the other schools can be seen from the reverse side.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL

The Founding of the School

Jesse Owens, like Adams Avenue, was founded because of overcrowding in a central city junior high school. The parent for Jesse Owens was

Rodgers Junior High School. Rodgers was located further east than Williams, away from the downtown area and on the northern fringe of the black area. But in the mid-sixties its neighborhood had been all white. In the closing years of the sixties it moved swiftly toward becoming all black. The Rodgers school found its population greatly expanded and changed during this period. Overcrowding and neighborhood racial tensions made this time a difficult one for the school.

A citizens' committee recommended that overcrowding be relieved by setting up an annex thirty blocks north in an elementary school and a rented parochial high school across an alley from it. At first the central office proposed sending all the difficult individuals to this school, but after objections were raised it was decided simply to send the whole seventh grade. The school was opened in the fall of 1970 with Mr. Osten, an assistant principal from Rodgers, at its head as administrator in charge, and Ms. Vogel from the state university as curriculum co-ordinator. With a crew of young and inexperienced teachers the school was charged to do something creative.

Within the first two years, the staff had started to develop a distinctive program. They put children and teachers into groups so that the teachers shared the same children and the children the same teachers. This plan grew out of a concern for the emotional needs of children at the awkward age of puberty and a belief that more personal acquaintance among children and between them and their teachers would be helpful to them. Accordingly the staff named these groups families. However, this idea was a little more of a departure than higher administrators had planned, and it took some time and effort to get approval for the practice and its nomenclature.

Several members of the staff also went to workshops at the state university looking for ideas for their new school. They were drawn to ideas for open education. One teacher decided to try it in her own classroom at the beginning of the second year and by the end of the year three other teachers had joined her.

In the meanwhile two changes were imposed from without. First, overcrowding was noted at Williams and some children were to be bused from there into Rodgers Annex (the year before Williams Annex was started on its own). But this plan made the school no longer strictly Rodgers Annex. Starting their pattern of school level initiative and of asking for what they needed, the Rodgers Annex staff petitioned the higher authorities for two changes in the light of this addition. First, they asked that Mr. Osten be made principal rather than administrator in charge under the Rodgers principal. And second they asked to give the school a new name. They proposed to choose the name. And to do so they had set up an elaborate process of nomination of possibilities and of votes by students, parents, and staff. The real name of the school, similar to Jesse Owens in being that of a well known pathbreaking black man, was chosen. But it took a good deal of persuasion to get official recognition of the name.

No sooner had the school begun to establish itself in this way, than its existence became precarious in the face of the opening of a new high school which would free room at the high school in Rodgers's area to house the ninth grade, thus relieving overcrowding at Rodgers. Nothing daunted, the staff at the now Jesse Owens school proposed that their school be constituted a special school serving the whole city and offering open education. They wrote a proposal, and a wider committee of parents, school staff, and central office staff became involved as it was redrafted and offered to the board. The board, which included several persons friendly to the idea of open education at that time, approved on a one year trial basis.

In 1972 the proposed school was a departure for the system in several ways. First, it was an open education school, with a distinctive curriculum, schedule, and overall program. Second, it was to serve sixth through eighth graders in a city with seventh through ninth grade junior high schools. Third, it was to draw its students from volunteers living throughout the city. Finally, it was to fill its slots according to racial quotas to create an intentionally racially diverse student body.

The central office staff seemed to the members of the school baffled as to how to recruit for this new kind of school, so they took over the process. They sent out letters announcing the school with a tear sheet for expression of interest and request for an application. They received 3000 inquiries the first year and 700 completed applications.

The applications included a statement of the student's reasons for wanting to come to an open education school. The school was able to select the students. There was some variation in accounts of how this was done, whether by intentional selection or according to a first come, first served procedure within categories of race, gender and grade level. In any case, staff members agreed in retrospect at least, that most of the students wanted to be in an open education school. Those who really could not cope with the freedom and became severe discipline problems or did not work could be asked to leave. The staff also remembered the average skill level as having been quite good, with a noticeable leavening of students with advanced skills.

As the teachers told it, the years between the opening of the citywide school and 1976 were years of intense learning and development. They attended workshops and they had discussions in depth of their daily practice in "support groups", small groups of teachers meeting at a regular time. They stayed after school for staff meetings, informal discussions, and work with children.

As the administrators talked of these years they were ones of negotiation for the school's existence or for the alterations in districtwide schedule and curriculum which would allow it to be as distinctive as they thought it needed to be. There were constant evaluations and the school's existence was negotiated year to year.

Incorporation into a Group of Alternative Schools and a Move

In 1976 the court order for desegregation came down and the systemwide decision to develop magnet schools followed. Jesse Owens was now seen as a pioneer for systemwide directions. Its specialness was no longer a burden but a virtue in the eyes of the central office. According to the principal its relations with the central office improved markedly as a result.

But 1976 and desegregation also brought traumatic changes. In the planning for the first year it was decided to close the old Rodgers junior high which was overwhelmingly black and still having difficulties. Jesse Owens had been housed in a makeshift facility, with its two buildings, and it consistently had a waiting list. Therefore it seemed logical to move it into the larger Rodgers building. The move provided a reason to scatter neighborhood black children, provided more spaces in middle school open education, and improved the facility available to Jesse Owens. Administratively, this plan seemed highly rational.

From the point of view of the school it was disastrous. First, there were objections to closing Rodgers and the final decision was not made until three weeks before school opened in September. Thus the physical move was rushed. But far more important, recruitment of students was rushed, as the student body was doubled. Many students came who had neither interest in nor understanding of open education. With such an overwhelmingly inexperienced student body, it was difficult for students who already knew how to operate in the fashion of open education to set the tone and become exemplars for the newer ones. Most important of all, the union regulations allowed teachers from Rodgers to stay if they simply expressed an interest in open education and a willingness to take inservice courses in it. Many were attached to the location and were loathe to take their chances in the citywide transfer pool. They stayed, but they let their resentment of Jesse Owens's "takeover" of the building be felt, along with their disapproval of open education. Experienced teachers from the old site were dropped if they had less seniority than the Rodgers teachers certified in their subjects.

Consequently, the body of experienced teachers who had worked together was diminished and a large group of new teachers was added who were inexperienced in the special style of education and reluctant to learn it. This divided group of teachers had to work with a doubled group of children, mostly unfamiliar with open education and its complex and demanding ways. Both administrators and teachers spoke of that year as very difficult. Both felt that year had effects which lingered until the time of the study.

Furthermore, at this point as Jesse Owens joined a larger group of alternative schools, it came under more regulation from the union. The union became interested in its schedule changes and the working hours of its faculty after school. The union, perhaps more than the central office became a source of constraint in modifications to standard scheduling and logistics which the staff of the school considered important to their program.

The most difficult of the Rodgers teachers stayed only one year. The principal discovered a bureaucratic requirement which could be used for the good of the school's substantive goals. Self-contained classes included all three grades, and therefore teachers without elementary certification would have to get it in order to continue teaching sixth graders. Most of the Rodgers teachers had only secondary certification when the principal told them they would have to start undertaking the considerable work for elementary certification. This effort counterbalanced the inconvenience and uncertainty of a transfer. Many left the school "voluntarily" in response to this prod.

They were replaced with other new teachers, however, not with the old experienced ones who had been "excessed" from the program when it moved into the Rodgers building. The school had to incorporate these new teachers, many of whom had no experience in open education and some of whom had not even requested the school. Further some of the Rodgers teachers remained, especially in the non-academic subjects.

Changes in the Student Body

The student body, which had exceeded five hundred in the first year at the Rodgers site also decreased somewhat, and fluctuated between three and four hundred. In the year of the study, the fourth year in the Rodgers building, it was approximately 380. The move, the addition of other alternative schools at the middle school level, and the recruitment and selection of students through the central office after desegregation all influenced the character of the student body, however. Teachers and administrators agreed that the academic abilities of the student decreased markedly. Also many students who lived close to the school came without fully realizing that it was an open education school and certainly without realizing what the nature of its program was.

These changes in the student body made two serious problems for the staff. First, they created a student body a large proportion of which was not only reluctant to participate fully in the school's curricular approach but often also unable to. That approach relied heavily upon curricular materials which required the capacity to read and follow directions with minimal assistance. The school administration asked the central office to have a standard of at least a fourth grade reading level set for admission so that students would be able to cope with these materials. The request was denied.

Second, both students and their parents had to be persuaded after they were already involved in the school that its distinctive approach had educational merit. Efforts for this persuasion were time consuming and not always successful. Yet many families who were unsympathetic did not withdraw. Further, the school could no longer ask children to leave if they were unable to cope with either its social or academic demands for self-control, unless they could persuade their parents voluntarily to withdrew them.

Third, now that the school was more visible as part of the group of magnet schools and now that the idea of movement within the public system was well established, both families and principals and counselors at other schools came more easily upon the idea of guiding students who were unsuccessful in traditional classrooms into open education. This problem had existed throughout the life of the school, but after it moved to the Rodgers building and became part of the system of alternative schools it greatly increased.[1]

Changes in Funding Formulas

Jesse Owens had been quite generously funded by the system in its early days. The student-teacher ratio was 25 to 1 in a system which at that time had normal ratios of over 30 to 1. With the court order, it received federal funds in the second year, 1977-1978, under the program for magnet schools. But it was decided in Washington after a year that open education no longer met the criteria for their definition of magnet schools and Owens lost those funds for 1978-1979. The next year, 1979-1980 the fourth of desegregation, it lost basic grant desegregation money which had supported an extra math teacher who ran a math laboratory which served as a resource for all students. It also lost money for some of its aides. Because of union rules on seniority the two who had to leave were two especially capable ones who had functioned rather like resource teachers, running two centers where special materials and information were available, one for teachers and one for students.

These losses were all sorely felt by administrators and teachers alike. They seemed to constitute serious debits for the distinctive program. But since other schools were being cut back as well, it was difficult for Owens to go to the barricades to make its case. Its fate was no longer the result of individual negotiation with the central office and the originally sympathetic board. It was now part of a larger group of magnet schools which in large part shared a common fate, though they quietly negotiated with the central office for primacy within their own group.

Each loss alone was not devastating to the program, but cumulatively they seemed to erode the program in a steady pattern which appeared to lead downhill to standardization. The principal described the pattern he felt from above as "chip, chip, chip." Pieces of the school's capacity to be distinctive were cut away until finally the whole would be gone without any one decisive stroke.

The School's History as Organizational Saga

Though the history of all three schools shaped their presents, it was only at Owens that history had an important place in its social self-

83

understanding. Especially for the staff who had been at the school since before the move to the Rodgers building, the history of the school carried a mythic importance. They had set their direction in the early days and they saw their life together as a struggle to maintain that direction. Their ability to remain true to it was the primary measure of their success. Their history was a heartening tale remembered among insiders and told to outsiders seeking an interpretaiton of the school. It was in other words an organizational saga (Clark, 1972).

As with any other tale told many times, it took on a shape and a thematic quality which is less evident in the events as they are lived. At Owens, a major theme was the one of independent struggle of the staff to win from the system as a whole first the right to exist and then the right to be distinctive. The administrators especially, but some teachers also, interpreted its history as a series of continuous struggles to obtain and maintain distinctive practices.

It was equally important that the school was seen as unique, as its own homegrown blend of elements which made it like no other. At the same time, people well known in the field of open education became a significant reference group with which the school could identify even as it saw itself defining its nature over against the school system. Their visits to the school and their approval of it provided a boost to morale which the principal especially remembered and cited to outsiders.

This sense of uniqueness made the principal and curriculum co-ordinator, in particular, cautious in opening the school to outsiders. They felt the school could only be understood and judged on the basis of its own educational premises. And it was their experience that few outsiders not connected with open education shared those premises. There developed then, as happens in many free schools (cf. Swidler, 1979; Deal, 1975; Kozol, 1972) a certain sense of sectlike separation from the rest of the world (Firestone, 1980). On the other hand, the school was not a free school but an open education school; it felt that distinction very keenly. Further, it was a public school and as such was bound to live within certain administrative guidelines and to serve a broad nonselected clientele. The principal sometimes had to remind his staff of the first limitation in its public character. The second was more widely accepted.

As I talked with board members and central office administrators and supervisors on the one hand, and with parents and persons in other schools on the other, it seemed that there was a good deal of truth in Owens's picture of its organizational saga, though some exaggeration as well. It was true that they had won not only the right to be but a myriad of small but significant exceptions to standard school system practice. It was also true that there was a good deal of misunderstanding of their program among staffs at other schools and among parents.

Many persons in the central office, especially in the department of curriculum and instruction, resented Owens's incursions on standard practice and upon their own ideas and procedure. This resentment continued even after Owens was incorporated into the larger group of magnets and even after it had demonstrated success with many students with whom other schools had failed. There were grudging admissions of areas of success and of the fact that Owens offered the most genuine alternative of the middle schools, but this group as a whole was not friendly to the school.

On the other hand, staff in administrative services within the central office set much higher store upon Owens's uniqueness and its offering of a genuine alternative. Since the school district administration had now set its course as a system upon the offering of alternative forms of education, Owens as the oldest alternative in the system was due a certain deference. One high administrator explained in 1981 that they had encouraged a certain sense of opposition between Owens and the system, thinking that its sense of rebelliousness had leant the staff energy and been a source of strength to the school. While one has to ask whether the intention in this statement existed more in rosy retrospect than it had contemporary to the events, the consequence was probably accurately stated.

At the same time, the board had funded Owens generously out of local funding at a time when neither alternative schools nor desegregation were a political necessity. And Owens had won more of their battles for distinctiveness than one might think possible in such a large system. Though a good deal of credit for those victories had to go to the Owens staff's energy, enthusiasm, imagination, and persistence and to the loyal and energetic support of parents they recruited to help them lobby, some of it had to go to the systemwide administration and the board which responded to their efforts.

Owens's staff was quick to point out that they had not only been the first alternative school, but they had pioneered several specific elements which became fundamental both to the magnet plan and to a new middle school plan as all junior high schools were converted to middle schools in 1979. Yet they said they were given no credit in the system at large for these inventions. Thus they had been the first school to draw students citywide and be voluntary. They had been the first in the city to develop what they called families, Adams and other IGE schools called units, and the middle school plan called teams. But another IGE school had been given credit as the model for this plan. They had been the first school to use the grouping of sixth through eighth grade. And they had been the first open education school, a pattern which was added at the elementary level among the magnets. They were quite right that they had in fact pioneered these ideas within Heartland, if not in the absolute. They were also right that they were not given even nods of recognition for them but were spoken of as a very special effort on the periphery of school system practice.

Owens then was genuinely an alternative school, whether seen from outside or inside. Though it was the best exemplar among the middle schools, and one of the best among all the schools, of a truly distinctive school which offered parents and children a substantive choice of program. It was more tolerated than prized by most elements of the organization above it. Within the school its distinctiveness was its defining characteristic and its reason for being. That distinctiveness was a rallying point not only for the administration or even for the staff of the original school, but for the total staff and many of the students. Their history of struggle to win that distinctiveness and even their sense of isolation and existence at the periphery strengthened their dedication to their special mission and their internal solidarity. What then, in detail, was the program toward which these energies were directed?

THE OPEN EDUCATION PROGRAM AT OWENS

The Formal Design of the Program

Open education as Owens understood it undertook to change the goals of traditional education, the technical means by which these new educational goals could be accomplished, and the structures within which the educational process occurs. It was thus a thoroughgoing revision of the direction and the organizational arrangements and relationships of traditional education.

As the staff at Owens expressed open education it was designed first and foremost to teach children to become responsible for their own learning. While acquisition of traditional basic skills was important, these were tools to help children acquire the capacity to learn independently and responsibly as much or more than the reverse. The school came under a great deal of attack for this position, and during the year that I studied it, 1979-1980 which was its fourth in the Rodgers building, the principal was stressing the importance of basic skills both with the teachers and with outside audiences.

Nonetheless, the staff all took seriously teaching responsibility for the student's own learning as the primary goal. The degree to which this goal dominated their efforts was brought home to me most forcefully at the end of the study in March when I went to each self-contained teacher to ask for the names of students I might interview. I was looking for a purposive sample comparable to those at the other schools, and so I asked for students who were high achievers and low achievers. I found that teacher after teacher responded to my question first in terms of how independent and responsible the student was in going about the learning task, rather than in terms of his or her academic skills. It was clear that they mentally ranked their students according to the criteria of independence and responsibility, rather than according to those of skills in subjects.

The routine of the school re-enforced its announced goals with activities explicitly designed to further them. Thus students had to write down a set of goals for themselves every two weeks. These goals were to be specific and to deal with the basic subjects and with some more specialized ones--such as a special science or social studies project the student was working on. Each day students were to write out a schedule of activities for the day which would help them toward their goals for the two week period. Teachers signed both the goals and the daily activity sheets to indicate they were approved. At the end of each day, the students were to evaluate their actual activities for the day and whether they had progressed satisfactorily as a result of engaging in them.

The structure of the school was designed to encourage each child to construct a unique curriculum and to allow each to use a broad range of resources in pursuing it. It allowed students choice in what they studied in the context of a close relationship with a single adult who could oversee their total progress over three years. Thus students were assigned to self-contained classrooms in groups which were designed to be heterogeneous in age, gender, race, and academic ability. Normally they were expected to stay with the same teacher through the three years of their experience in the school. Thus the teacher would come to know well both their intellectual and their personal strengths and weaknesses and be able to guide them in their goals and activities with an educated sense for their individual needs.

But the single teacher was not expected to be the students' only instructional resource. Rather, they were to move about the school drawing on the resources of the library, of a well stocked audiovisual center, and of a curriculum center with materials ranging from texts to manuals and filmstrips designed for schools. They were also expected to go to teachers of other classes who might be knowledgeable in a particular area. There were also math and reading laboratories with staff to help with skills in these areas. Finally there were two rooms called Academic Support Centers, with teachers funded by Title I, where students with weak skills were expected to go for assistance in basic skills each day.

Students were also encouraged to reach beyond the borders of the school for information and exploration. They could arrange small group field trips through the systemwide Expanding Educational Experiences program, or they could arrange with parents or aides in the school to go with them on school sponsored field trips. They could ask outside adults to come to the school with information or demonstrations on topics of interest. And of course they could use the resources of the city on their own time outside of school to contribute to a project.

In theory, then, students had a close and continuing relationship with an adult who oversaw their progress, stimulated them with suggested ideas, and pushed them when they bogged down in frustration or lassitude. At the same time they could take advantage of a wide range of adults available as curricular resources. Teachers in turn had responsibility to oversee only thirty students. But they were responsible for their progress as persons developing responsibility and independence in learning and responsible for their progress in all areas of the curriculum--though they might not actually instruct them in every area. Much of the instruction was done with self-teaching materials with the teacher serving as resource and interpreter as needed. There was very little whole group instruction and in most rooms even little small group instruction.

The routine of the day was based around the distinctive goals and means just described. Children reported to their self-contained rooms on arrival. Every one was expected to stay there for forty-five minutes. During that time it was possible for the teacher to gather the whole class for instruction or planning or social interaction. And morning chores such as the collection of money and taking of attendance were done while students wrote out their "activity sheets" for the day. Teachers had a chance to check these and discuss them with students whom they thought needed such discussion that day. In the following forty minutes children could leave the room, but most would stay; some teachers required everyone to stay. There followed two 80 minute periods in the morning and a third after the hour lunch break. During two of these periods students were based in the room but if their teachers initialed their activity sheets they were free to move about the building to the other locations mentioned above in pursuit of their activities. During the third period the whole class left the self-contained center and scattered to a variety of "specialized center" classes while their teacher had a preparation period.

These specialized center classes were for the most part in traditional nonacademic subjects: art, music, home economics, shop, and physical education. Science was also included. Students took these classes every day for six weeks, then a new period began and they could either return to that subject or start a new one. They had to select physical education for two six week periods to fulfill state requirements for that experience, but they went to other subjects by choice. They filled out cards every six weeks with three choices and the teachers of these classes assigned them, honoring the choices as much as possible. A student could repeat if a class were not oversubscribed. But if it were, there was an attempt to spread the opportunity and to encourage the student to branch out.

These classes differed somewhat from students' experiences in self-contained classes. They had their own sheets for goals, activities and evaluation. In these classes students generally were expected to be learning in the specified subject. Though there was definite variation in teachers, in general students participated together in fairly structured activities, though the content of common projects might vary. The art teacher made a conscious effort to encourage children to gain some experience with all the major graphic media at some time in their school careers. The home economics and shop teachers taught the basics of their crafts, but allowed more latitude in projects chosen for clothing or shop work than would most teachers at this beginning age level. These teachers saw ninety children a day instead of thirty and saw them for shorter periods.

They could not work with each child in the depth and breadth possible for the self-contained teachers.

The report card which the school sent home for each student reflected its goals and means. The self-contained teacher wrote an assessment of the student's progress for the six week period. The student read it and wrote his own comment to go along with it. There was no letter or number to summarize progress. Students were to be judged in complex terms and their progress measured against their earlier selves. Thus the program was profoundly non-competitive. It would have been difficult for children to rank themselves except into large categories even if they carefully read and compared paragraphs. And a child might receive praise for good progress both in self-direction and skill development yet have mastered a lower level of objective achievement in skills than a student who received less praise because he or she was not working independently and not pushing him or herself to grow in skill.

Conferences with parents always included the students. This practice reflected the philosophy that the children were to be respected as full partners in the educational process. It was appropriate for them to hear whatever teacher and parent had to say about them, and their point of view should also be represented in the conversation.

Within these basic parameters there were a variety of lesser goals which the school proclaimed less vigorously than its central one of developing independent responsibility and which teachers therefore pursued with varying vigor. Probably most important, the principal and curriculum co-ordinator and some teachers stressed the intellectual integration of different subjects. They encouraged students to work on projects which would require skills from several subjects at once. And they worked with them to be self-conscious about the appropriate and accurate use of those skills. Thus a science or social studies project could involve skills in finding, analyzing, and summarizing information, mathematical skills, and skills in written and then oral expression. Some teachers were much more self-conscious in pushing curricular integration and purposeful honing of skills during such projects than were others.

Another important subsidiary goal was fostering the affective side of a child's development. Concern with a child's capacity to develop independent responsibility implied some concern with his emotional as well as his intellectual life. Also the close association of thirty children and one adult in a room over a year and in many cases over two and three years was bound to foster a relatively intimate acquaintance. The unstructured use of time and the independent activities going on simultaneously allowed behavior to vary, personalities to express themselves, and relationships to develop a full and flourishing life. Thus children's personal characteristics and their affective development were much more difficult to ignore than in a setting where forty minutes of sitting still facing forward and appearing to listen, write, or read is all that is expected.

Some teachers also stressed the development of students' social skills. Some of these stressed their capacity to behave civilly and constructively in groups in general, while others worked specifically on the development of understanding across lines of ethnicity (and gender.) Because the children had considerable opportunity to interact in the self-contained classroom all teachers had to be aware of the social dynamics of relationships and to attempt indirectly at least to foster productive ones and to discourage ones which seemed destructive to the goals of developing responsibility and general mutual respect.

Conflicts Between the Design of the Program and District Policy--Representative Battles

This outline of the program suggests some of the territory where the school had to fight its battles with the district over exceptions to systemwide policy. The multi-graded classroom, especially with its inclusion of sixth graders for whose instruction elementary certification is required, was a departure from district policy when it was first instituted. The schedule for the day with its eighty minute preparation periods for teachers was initially also a great departure. It was one with which the union was uncomfortable as well as the administration. Now with the new middle school plan all Heartland teachers have something closer to it as all have preparation periods and time set aside for team planning.

The curriculum was probably the area which made the school the most difficulties and created the most skeptics at the central office. First, the school asked to be allowed to change the schedule, offering non-academic subjects in six week blocks. This was a new idea when they introduced it, later taken up by other alternative middle schools. Much more radically it asked to let children choose the subjects they would take. Thus there was no guarantee that a child will be exposed to music, art, home economics etc. in the grades where they were scheduled in the curriculum guide. And while children were encouraged to take all the subjects at some time, some children might not be exposed to some subjects at all.

Further, children's own setting of goals and planning of activities--even with the advice and consent of their teachers--was anathema to persons whose lives were spent in planning coherent curricular sequences. The learning of skills through integrated projects seemed indirect and insufficient. The school fought to have its supply money budgeted as a whole, rather than by department, so that it could buy more integrated materials and have more discretion in the choice of materials. Subject matter supervisors in the central office who had spent long hours carefully selecting what seemed the best text in their area were baffled, despairing, and angered when the school ignored the texts, sometimes not even ordering them. When the curriculum co-ordinator explained that the use of texts ran against the school's philosophy, they were puzzled and suspicious. To them the school's approach seemed a simple watering down of coherent academic substance.

The school, finding itself at an impasse with these subject matter supervisors, asked for an elementary supervisor familiar with open education instead. They did get one after the open education elementary schools were established. She was more sympathetic to their approach, which is after all less foreign to the more child-centered traditional elementary schools.

The distinctiveness of the school got it caught in numerous small situations where it did not fit the broad standard categories in which the central office still administered the system even after magnet schools were introduced. For example, to make up days lost during the 1976-1977 strike, there were several inservice training days for teachers added to the calendar over the next three years. At the middle school level these were planned for all the schools together. Thus Owens teachers were expected to gather in a central place and watch a televised presentation of the new middle school plan in the spring of 1978. Parts of that plan they had long since pioneered and other parts were irrelevant to them. So watching such a presentation was simply a waste of time that could have been spent on group discussion of local school issues or on individual preparation for children's curricular needs.[2] At another inservice the teachers had to identify themselves as teachers of subjects and attend workshops specifically for math teachers, social studies teachers etc. While that experience should have been somewhat beneficial, it was not one well designed for the most pressing needs of that staff. When they could, Owens's staff sometimes quietly ignored inappropriate district expectations. But if departing from procedure required direct defiance, they did not risk disobedience.

In the year before the study, one of the teachers with the most active concern for social co-operation had a class which set up a restaurant as a group project. She found this a model of what should be happening. They had much to learn about nutrition, about the details that go into planning a menu, ordering food, setting up publicity etc. Skills in mathematics, writing, and getting information and supplies from outside sources were necessary. Social co-operation and the sharing and respecting of diverse skills were necessary. But a student told about the project at home in a way that reached the newspaper, and suddenly the legality of selling food without a restaurant license and of using nonunion labor to prepare school food were involved. The central office wanted to cancel the project or use pretended food, but the teacher insisted that the children had committed too much effort and the project was too beneficial to stop at that advanced stage. The principal backed her up, and eventually the "restaurant" was opened with the strict priviso that no one from outside the school be served.

The distinctiveness of the school's goals and methods were thus constantly creating situations where--from no one's volition--they caused problems with the standard procedures of the school system. The staff generally saw themselves as having to fight an unsympathetic, or at least uninitiated, bureaucracy in these matters. The principal and the curriculum co-ordinator who most often did the actual negotiation admitted, however, that there had always been sympathetic individuals in the central office as well as the board and that after the institution of magnets for desegregation their stock rose and there was more receptivity to their distinctive needs.

Resources Needed for the Program

Jesse Owens's departures from traditional education were substantial in both goals and methods. To be successful they required not only different organizational arrangements from traditional schools, but also different resources and more resources. The educational approach was labor intensive for adults. Self-contained teachers were expected to oversee each child's total program of intellectual development and to help him in his emotional and social growth, goals not altogether different from those of traditional elementary school classrooms if not secondary ones. But they also were expected to help each child develop independence and responsibility in learning, and that charge included using the child's interests to develop a different curriculum for each individual. While there might be overlap between individuals, there were also substantial differences. With the wide variation in Owens's students' social backgrounds and academic skills these differences could be very great indeed. Further, it seems a more complex task to oversee a child's social and emotional growth toward independent responsibility than toward the obedience and co-operation which are more often valued in traditional classrooms. Both intellectually and emotionally teachers were expected to work in depth with each individual. While they were about this task, they were also expected to get thirty preadolescents differing in age, race, social class, and gender to coexist and often to co-operate smoothly in a small space. They could not rely upon talking themselves to the whole group, thus maintaining a focus of attention (Cusick, 1973) to keep order.

The self-contained teachers argued with justice that this task was more demanding than teaching traditional classes, at least if it were done as it should be done. When Jesse Owens was founded their class size had been twenty-five. But in the fall of 1979, the year of the study, they were cut back to the standard allowance of teachers for magnet schools which gave them a class size of twenty-eight. The money for the mathematics laboratory was withdrawn that fall. When a self-contained teacher resigned in the middle of the fall semester, the self-contained teachers voted to scatter her children to other classes, giving each thirty, in order to free a teacher to establish the mathematics laboratory out of their regular budget. During the study year, then, they were feeling considerable strain from the addition of several children to each teacher's responsibility and several bodies to the same physical and social space. The loss of funding thus had this very tangible effect on each self-contained classroom.

Further, because there were so many children moving in varied curricular directions the teachers needed help in developing curricular ideas, in helping children find resources, and in working individually with children on skills or projects. There were aides for the school, called assistant teachers. They all worked either in the classrooms or resource centers except for lunchtime supervision. When two highly skilled ones, one of whom had worked with faculty to develop materials and one of whom had worked with children seeking audio-visual materials were lost because of budget cuts and low seniority the loss was deeply felt.

The school's program also required, or at least worked best, with certain resources in the form of students. In each room there were "centers" with materials which could provide resources and stimulate ideas in a particular skill or subject area. Each room was expected to have a reading center, a math center, a communications center, a center for thinking skills, and a theme center which dealt with topics that varied across rooms and through the course of the year. Children could go to these centers to get materials and ideas.

Some, especially the math center, had carefully worked out written directions for self-taught instruction. The school had worked out a set of sheets for work in incremental skills; math textbooks from the adopted publisher and some others were also available for extra explanation and practice. Other subjects were less likely to be so thoroughly programmed, but there were written directions for exercises and suggestions for projects, theme topics, and so forth.

To use these materials independently and effectively a child needed good reading skills and a fairly organized approach to planning and carrying out a task independently. In other words, it was difficult for children with very poor academic skills and with very little initial independence to operate in the school. It could work much more effectively with those who had at least average abilities in both areas.

To the degree that children did not have these abilities, the labor needed from the teacher greatly increased. With children who could not read or organize themselves for even simple tasks, the teacher had orally to interpret and instruct, and then to supervise the student's progress fairly closely. It was possible of course for students to learn both reading and independence over the course of their stay at the school; so that only the newer students might be such a burden. Nonetheless, the school was clearly very much affected by the skills of both kinds with which its students entered and by the mix of skills in the group in any one classroom. I will describe the entering student body before turning to the character of the school program as it was actually practiced.

STUDENT RECRUITMENT

Student recruitment was one of the school's most difficult problems. The reasons for this were not entirely clear to any one. The move to the Rodgers building and the flood of children hurried into the school at the last minute that year had broken a chain of continuity for the school. The other competing magnet schools had offered other opportunities to families unhappy with their neighborhood schools. The opening of the middle school for the gifted and talented in the second year had particularly drawn off Jesse Owens's natural constituency of well educated high status families whose children would already have training in independent study as well as good reading skills.

In any case, whatever the reason, after it moved to the Rodgers building, Jesse Owens consistently had trouble in attracting a majority of at least average students and more than a few highly able students. It also had trouble attracting sufficient numbers of whites.[3] Further, it had trouble attracting enough sixth graders to fill a cohort--in the winter of 1981 only twenty-eight signed up for the fall of 1981.[4] Most of the students entered as seventh graders and had only two years in which to acquire the skills of open education. The experienced students who could provide examples and even instruction to their peers in the appropriate way of conducting oneself in an open education school were only about half the student body, instead of two thirds.

Furthermore, the kind of student who was attracted was generally not that best suited to, or even interested in, open education. At the beginning of the year, all the teachers posted city maps in their rooms and as part of orientation had students put a pin on their house with a thread leading to a pin at the school. In all the rooms these maps showed a clustering of students' homes very close to the school and just a few students scattered in outlying locations. Many students, especially black students, came to the school because it was close to home. They signed up as though it were the neighborhood school even though it was not. When I interviewed students I asked whether the school was similar to what they had expected. Sixteen out of twenty-three, or seventy percent said it was not. Many said this vehemently. They were totally surprised by the school's character. Some of these students responded in the affirmative when I asked whether they had a brother or sister who had gone to "this school". It was only after I completed the interviews that I realized they must have meant their siblings went to this building rather than this program. They followed their siblings into the building more or less unconscious of the change in program.[5]

The children who were drawn to the program were varied but generally below national averages in their skills. The cohort who were seventh graders in 1979-1980 at the time of the study scored slightly lower than the citywide average on tests taken at the end of the fifth grade before they entered Jesse Owens. (See Tables 5-1 and 5-2.) The citywide average is itself below national norms. With half of the student body scoring below the 30th percentile in reading and math skills, this was a student body weighted toward the low end of the scale with many students with very low skills. However, the school could not simply gear itself to remedial efforts, since there were students representing almost every level of skill also present.

Table 5-1

Comparison of Jesse Owens and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading at the End of Grade Five, Spring 1978

	Jesse Owens	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	77	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	58	60
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	26	33
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	14	16
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	6	6

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 5-2

Comparison of Jesse Owens and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics at the End of Grade Five, 1978

	Jesse Owens	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	77	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	58	62
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	29	39
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	16	20
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	8	8

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

THE PROGRAM IN PRACTICE

Daily Activities

There was a good deal of variation among Jesse Owens's self-contained classrooms in rhythm of activities, appearance of the room, and interpersonal tone. Nonetheless, some typical patterns emerged which describe activity in most rooms. I will speak of these first and then of variation.

The rooms themselves were large with high ceilings and plenty of natural daylight. Each was furnished with tables of various sizes and straight chairs for each student. Many had in addition old easy chairs or sofas and scraps of carpet in a corner to make a reading nook. Scattered around the room on tables and bookcases were the learning centers, generally arranged with brightly colored cardboard signs and attractively lettered general directions. Appropriate materials were laid out on the tables and bookcases or tucked into colored folders attached to the upright sign. Several bookcases also contained a variety of reading and reference sources.

Most teachers arranged the tables for students and those for the centers in distinctive patterns which broke up the squareness of the room, created some nooks for quiet work separate from the rest of the class, and established traffic patterns and a center stage somewhere in the room--by no means always at the front. Traditionally placed blackboards and marks in the polished wood floors where rows of seats had once been bolted reminded one of the earlier layout of the room. Many rooms had bulletin boards and cardboard displays suggesting curricular activities beyond those in the centers. Most had children's work posted after the first few weeks. And the black boards were used for announcements and messages as well as for students or teachers to work out math problems in a group or for other such appropriate activities.

The days started fairly similarly in each classroom. Students came in between 8:10 and 8:30 and settled into accustomed places at tables. At 8:30 work began in an easy flow, often with the teacher announcing special activities for the class as a whole some time during the day. There might be reminders that some kind of work which every one was to do--a long project or an oral news report--would be due at a certain time. Arrangements for dates for individuals to report would be made.

The teacher would then attend to housekeeping, attendance, lunch money and the like while the students wrote out their activity sheets for the day. Then there might be oral reports from students or a class meeting to discuss a group undertaking or some issue in the social life of the class.

After this the students would start working independently, often moving around the room to use the resources at the various centers--or depending on the room as much as the student--fetching the resources back to their seat. The room would settle down to reading, writing and scattered conversations while the teacher circulated discussing work with either individuals or small groups. The teacher might move among the desks or the students might come to him or her. None of the teachers remained at their desks all morning. Some spent very little time there--using them primarily as a place to lay things down.

After the first few weeks, students usually could choose their own seats--though some teachers would then mix them up again. This choice led to patterns where the majority of tables--though rarely all in any room--were homogeneous in both gender and race. Children did address one another as they moved about the room. There did not seem to be planful avoidance of other races, only a higher probability of choosing same race tablemates than other race tablemates. Segregation by gender was greater than by race.[6]

After 9:15 children were allowed by school rules to leave the room and some started to leave then. Some would have definite appointments. Thus children eligible for work in the Academic Support Centers were scheduled in groups at regular times, for forty minute blocks of work together. Children mainstreamed from behavioral disability, learning disability, and educable mentally retarded classes might return there on regular schedules. And the reading laboratory offered work on a regular schedule for children to work in groups on specific skills in the highly programmed Heartland Reading Continuum which was closely patterned after the Wisconsin Skills Design approach to reading.

These special appointments often made a significant reduction in the number of children in the room at various points in the day. Rooms varied in the number of students who took advantage of the opportunity to travel as individuals to the library, AV center, or math laboratory (which was more flexibly scheduled than the reading one.)

The children who remained continued to read or write and to visit with one another. It was difficult here as at Adams to know whether their conversations were personal or task related. There doubtless was some proportion of both kinds.

The teacher circulated. Sometimes he or she would take the initiative to speak with a child asking how some kind of work was coming, reminding of a deadline, or offering assistance. At other times the teacher would respond to a question or request for assistance. Sometimes a teacher would spend 15 or 20 minutes with one child or one group--especially if the room were fairly empty--and sometimes he or she would move fairly rapidly from question to question. Occasional lengthy conferences with individuals were expected and were used to help them set new directions and to start on new projects as well as to review progress on continuing work and in the skills of taking initiative and following through on it.

Variability Among Teachers

Despite these similarities, teachers varied a good deal from one another on a number of dimensions. The most important dimension was educational philosophy. At one end of the continuum was a clearly identifiable teacher who in his interview rather articulately put forth a free school philosophy rather than an open education one. He was primarily concerned with the children's emotional development, believed that they would learn responsibility by behaving as they saw fit, believed that they had a certain inherent good sense if trusted, and saw his own role as one of responding to their interests and needs as expressed on a daily or weekly basis. He did not set up interest centers, though the room was full of a wide assortment of objects. He allowed the students a system of self-government which determined many activities, with his being only one equal vote. His approach in other words tended to be laissez faire. He generally did not follow or enforce school rules about the biweekly statement of goals, the writing out of daily activity sheets and end of the day evaluations, or about movement around the school only to specific places on specific errands.

At the other extreme, some teachers structured a large part of the students' day for them and gave them rather specific assignments. One even had reading groups moving through traditional readers with pages of reading assigned for each day.

Within the broader group which did not go to these extremes, there was significant variation in the amount of structure which the teachers imposed upon group and individual activity. Some teachers had a good deal of whole group activity in which oral reports were given, films were watched, stories were read aloud or read together silently and then discussed, and so forth. Even in these classes, however, such activities would take up a good deal less than half the day.

Some teachers gathered groups together for instruction in specific skills. Some required specific kinds of projects, though the content might be quite variable, set the deadlines themselves, and required progress reports. Some encouraged or required small groups to work together on such efforts and met with them as groups. Some required that every one work on math at a particular time of day, others only that every student schedule a certain number of hours a week in this area. Some were very directive in working with students to decide on the activities they should engage in and the goals they should set, others were more likely to observe, then comment, then perhaps suggest. Some had standard activities they wanted every child to engage in at some time during a given period--for example write a report about a state or do a project on Asia--while others left the choice of activities beyond basic skills completely to the individual.

Further, there was variation in structure through the course of the school year. Most teachers said they had learned by experience that it was necessary to start the year with much more structure than one would finish it with. New students had to be introduced slowly to the ways of open education. At the very beginning of the year students were scheduled to move from center to center at specific times of the day. Movement outside the room was limited and very clear statements of activities planned and accomplished were demanded by the teachers. The whole class would be given a similar project to work on and the teacher would outline and discuss the method of going about it with the whole group. Then as children learned how to go about the activities, they were given more latitude in planning both content and time. There was also variation in the degree of direction the same teacher exercised over different individuals, depending upon the individual's capacity to plan and execute a series of productive activities.

Teachers differed from one another not only in their philosophy but in their skill in working with open education as planned. To be successful, teachers needed a good sense for the social requirements of the group as a whole so that interaction flowed smoothly, was appropriately limited, and did not intervere with work. Teachers also needed a capacity to work empathetically yet firmly with individuals. They needed to be supportive with students who were uneasy with planning their own goals and budgeting their own time. They also had to be imaginative in suggesting ideas which would fire them and start their own energies flowing. At the same time they had to be firm and demanding when students needed high standards set for their efforts or when they preferred to socialize rather than to work. Teachers had to be aware of the activities of many persons at once in the daily stream of activity so that they helped every one to remain on task and productive. And they needed to remember--with the help of a well-organized notation system--each child's academic progress in a variety of subjects as well his or her stage of development in becoming independent and his or her consequent personal needs.

The skills needed for this kind of work are different from those of traditional teaching and they are ones with which not all teachers are gifted. To a degree they can be developed with practice, but some teachers had more aptitude and more desire for developing them than did others. Some structured the children's activities more than the philosophy of the school approved or let them simply follow their own lights more than it approved because they lacked the skill to offer the generalized, supportive, yet intentional guidance of their growth which the official philosophy envisioned.

Specialized Center Classes

The specialized center classes were in most cases noticeably different from the self-contained classrooms. Unlike the self-contained teachers these teachers were responsible for teaching a particular subject. The majority had not come from the old site, and several did not deviate far from old patterns in teaching their subject. Though they might allow children a little more choice in activities than they had formerly done, many of these classes were not markedly different from such classes in other schools. (Of course such classes in other schools tend to allow more student initiative and choice and more freedom of movement and scheduling of activities than do regular academic classes.)

Some of the teachers in these areas were serious about developing open ways to teach their subject and about the philosophy of the school. Their classes differed from other specialized center classes, but they still were centered around a single activity such as art or shop. Further, in subjects where students had little prior background there were basic skills and techniques in which every one needed direct instruction and repetitive practice. Thus, especially with students who had not been in the room for many six week sessions, there was limited scope for variation.

Teachers saw ninety students a day rather than thirty and they saw them for a relatively short time each day over only a six week period. They thus had less opportunity to assess each child's learning style and special needs in the subject and less opportunity to establish a supportive yet demanding relationship than did self-contained teachers. There was therefore more need for these teachers to set tasks and expect performance according to some external criterion in order to be sure that a student was being productive in some way.

The reading laboratory, which was for awhile a particular sore spot for self-contained teachers, was a special case because it was based in the highly detailed Heartland Reading Continuum which consisted of small divided skills and tasks related to them. The continuum was required for Owens as for all other schools in the city. Students had to be tested, instructed in skills, and tested again. This was one more case of a system-wide procedure which ran against the grain of Owens's approach.

Interpersonal Tone of Classroom Interaction

The philosophy, academic reward structure, and plan of classroom activities at Owens all were non-competitive. Since students worked on varied tasks, they could not easily compare their achievements with each other. Since they varied in grade level as well as in skills, it was not immediately obvious even what another student's skills should be.[7] Therefore at Owens the same processes were at work which had eased the embarrassment of low achievers at Adams. They were not forced to display their ignorance or lack of skill in front of the class and their formal evaluations dealt with their progress or lack of it, more than with their absolute achievements. Thus students with low skills had no reason to create a distraction by picking fights or annoying the teacher lest they be called upon to recite. And students with low skills on entrance were given some hope for success in the school's terms.

There was some feeling of tension in some rooms between the students who succeeded in the school's terms, by setting goals, working diligently, and producing work which was correct, wide ranging, imaginative or aesthetic and those who had difficulty in setting goals, concentrating on a task, or producing a product. Ability to concentrate and work in class were the most obvious of the qualities at issue here. Some students complained in interviews about others who played, or who made no serious effort to work.[8] Some students who had such difficulties wore a hang dog look and a few regularly pestered other students. Thus, along this dimension, there was a paler form of the interpersonal disruptions which can be born of invidious academic comparisons in traditional classrooms. These were not a major element in classroom interaction, however, and rarely to be noticed as one watched the flow of interaction through a morning.

The activity structure of the classes allowed individual children to regulate the pace as well as the content of much of their day. There was thus a relaxed quality in the atmosphere of the rooms, even in rooms where some students were intently concentrating at any given moment.

The open flow of activity in the classroom, the opportunity for children to interact relatively freely, and the long individual contacts between teacher and student gave a logistical opportunity for encounters revealing the range of personality. One experienced teacher said that in the situation feelings "rise to the surface like cream".

One teacher compared her relationship to the class to that of a gardener. The teacher had responsibility to oversee, to cultivate, to expect visible results from his or her efforts. But part of the process was out of her hands, attributable to the nature, growth properties, and diligence of the student. Since teachers shared responsibility with the children, they did not have to bear as heavy a burden of guilt when learning did not proceed well as do teachers in traditional classrooms (McPherson, 1972; Lortie, 1975). Nor did they have to defend against such a burden with angry blame towards students. They were therefore free to accept each student where he started and to do their best to move him further without despair or an overwhelming sense of failure if some did not progress far.

The logistical opportunities for personal acquaintance also made the teacher-student relationships more equal than in a traditional classroom, and because the educational approach enjoined acquaintance with a wider range of the student's behavior, teachers came to know the students more as full persons than teachers do in traditional classrooms. Several teachers commented on this greater acquaintance as an advantage for the students and for themselves as teachers. One teacher with traditional elementary experience who had been involuntarily assigned to the school three years before the study spoke of this aspect of the approach as very different from her previous experience, rewarding, and helpful in the teaching process.

Interaction in the classroom then had a relaxed and a personal tone. Even though it was clear that the teacher was in charge and could make demands upon the student, their exchanges took place between full persons who were semi-equals. The formalized tone of much exchange in traditional clasrooms was nearly absent. Consequently when teachers chastized students it was generally for lack of effort or for distracting others. They would also take quite seriously sleighting or insulting comments made by one student to or about another, even if they occurred across the room from the teacher. These rather frequently became the source of protracted student-teacher discussion and were one of the most frequent reasons for real anger or punitive steps on the part of the teacher. As at Adams most such confrontations could be carried on sotto voce while the rest of the class continued undisturbed because the activity structure divided attention. Teachers sometimes asked children to step out in the hall with them if they wanted to remonstrate forcefully with them. In general, then the classrooms were interpersonally comfortable and pleasant places in which to spend one's day--though there might be occasional teasing among children or occasional confrontations between a teacher and a student.

Not all teachers had the interpersonal skills to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the school's activity structure and educational approach however. As at Adams there were exceptions. One teacher in particular--and one from the original school, furthermore--confronted the children with an oppositional tone which led to a contest of wills throughout the day I observed her. She nagged students to work from the front of the room for all to hear. She created confrontations, threatened, and sent children to the assistant principal in groups. Students whispered to me that they were a bad class and also that they did not like their teacher, just as they have in the sourest of traditional classrooms.

One of the specialized center teachers was without either instructional or disciplinary skill. A few other teachers had some difficulties in keeping a flow of constructive activity and in using their opportunity to correct children quietly and privately. Neither the logistics, nor the curricular approach, nor the philosophy of the school guaranteed pleasant and constructive interpersonal relations. Teachers needed skill and insight to use these conditions as opportunities to create such relationships.

Students' Behavior

I have already suggested that in classes Jesse Owens students were generally pleasant and co-operative with teachers and with each other--though there were exceptions in both relationships. These pleasant and co-operative relationships were also expressed in the rare appearance of graffiti, the good care taken of common school property, and a low incidence of hostile encounters between students.

Given the low skills of the majority of Owens's students and the marked lack of success in adjusting to school of some unmeasured minority, it is worth remarking upon the lack of an oppositional tone between teachers and students which could easily have developed with such a student body (Hargreaves, 1967; Metz, 1978b, 1978c; Stinchcombe, 1964; Willis, 1977).

The reasons for these good personal relations seemed to be several. Perhaps most important were the same reasons as those I adduced earlier to explain good personal relations at Adams. At both schools the classroom activity structure made performance private. The academic reward structure was non-competitive; students were measured against their own prior performance mostly on the basis of written work and private conversations with the teacher. Thus a student was not exposed to the public embarrassment of performing poorly on a daily basis, and it was possible for even the least skilled to build a record of positive performance if he or she worked hard and showed improvement.

Given Owens's emphasis on learning how to learn, it was possible for a child to get a sense of a fresh start. And a willing and diligent child could gain a good deal of praise according to the school's values before he or she actually made up all former academic deficits. The school thus did not label children as failures unless they actively resisted learning. It did not set them in competition against each other for scarce rewards. The goal of taking responsibility for one's own learning is one more open to all than is good progress along a linear academic path where it is easy to see that some have progressed further than others.

Positive and relaxed personal relations seemed to grow from these activity structures and academic reward structures. Owens's staff commented on the dramatic improvement in behavior of many of the children who came to them with previous difficulties in schools. Even the central office staff who had doubts about the curriculum granted the school had success in this area. At the same time, Owens's staff generally took for granted the lack of graffiti on the walls and the lack of confrontations among what could elsewhere have been a very volatile and angry mixture of children.

The structure of time, space, and personal relations at Owens was also conducive to the development of intimate acquaintance between every student and at least one teacher. And the self-contained classroom and continuing multi-age classroom group made possible a depth of acquaintance among students as well. Structures also limited the number of others with whom a student had to cope during most of the day--making the school day more an experience among a familiar group of distinctive individuals and less one of contact with aggregations of strangers than is typical in many secondary schools. Thus it was possible for a student to build many relationships of personal trust within the school and to live out a significant proportion of his or her day within such relationships. Even more than at Adams personal relations could thus take the edge off the alienation of some unsuccessful students. Owens teachers were in general more aware than those at Adams that sheer length of acquaintance does not necessarily build positive relations, but the setting encouraged the self-contained teachers to make the active building of such positive relations part of the classroom agenda.

Racial relations at Jesse Owens were generally not actively tense, but there was less interracial friendship than at Adams. The voluntarily assembled groups at tables in the classrooms were more often segregated than not. These groups consequently did not build interracial acquaintance where it was previously absent. In the dining room students sat at tables which ran the length of the long room. The normal pattern was for a line of children of one race to sit across from a line of children of the same race. But these lines changed color at irregular intervals; so that two lines of black children would end in contiguity and possible overlap with two lines of white children which might also end in two more lines of black children. Some teachers made active efforts to get students to deal consciously with racial separation and to build bridges across races, while others did not make racial differences an explicit issue. The school as a whole had some activities designed to mix children and human relations was one of its curricular themes. The whole school celebrated Jesse Owens's birthday and his career. But there was less emphasis on either ethnic roots or interethnic understanding than at Adams.

The problems of behavior which were noticeable to a visitor and worried about by teachers were almost all problems related to lack of attention to the academic task rather than to hostile relations between individuals or groups of children or anger directed by children at adults or at the school as an entity. Thus toward spring there were a few identifiable children who were often to be seen in the hall without legitimate errands. (Most came from a few specific self-contained classrooms). In most rooms there were students who did little constructive work even though they might not create problems for other students or for the teacher--aside from his or her responsibility to see that they made academic progress.

There was a higher level of conversation in most of the Owens classrooms than at Adams, but students moved from work to conversation and back fairly easily and quickly. I took some counts of student who appeared to be reading or writing versus those who appeared to be talking or daydreaming. The numbers would vary during periods of less than five minutes. There were always pupils reading or writing (unless there was a joint activity) but not always a majority.

More than either of the other schools, Owens was characterized by variability in the behavior of students. There was variation from room to room as teachers set different atmospheres based on their different educational goals and personal styles. And there was visible variation among individuals within rooms. The educational philosophy with its emphasis on letting the children assume responsibility for their learning and upon not only letting them learn at their own pace but letting them move along diverse curricular paths, encouraged this variability. Its effects were apparent both in students' classroom interaction and in their comments in interviews.

Because I did the student interviews at the end of each study after I already knew each school well and so saw the responses through a set of expectations, I gave the transcripts to an independent rater.[9] I asked him simply to read the interview protocols and characterize both the student bodies and the schools. I told him only the specialty of each school and offered no details about it. He remarked upon the great variability of Owens's children's comments and styles in comparison to the other two schools where children seemed to develop a more common style.

Some of the variability caused by differences in both classes and students--along with a sense for the program as students experienced it--can be captured by quoting students' replies to interview questions which asked them to state what goals they set for the two week period surrounding the interview and what activities they planned to engage in that day and had engaged in the previous day. Students were supposed to have folders which contained the sheets on which both sets of guides were written whenever they moved around the building. Most of them pulled out these sheets and half read, half talked, as they replied.

The following pair of quotes are from two students in Mr. Koenig's room. Mr. Koenig was very highly regarded by the administration as a practitioner of open education as it should be done. I spent a series of afternoons in his room during the orientation of students in the fall and found that he seemed to have a good sensitivity to individuals combined with firmness with the group. His students show this influence in the articulateness of their responses to the question. The first speaker is a sixth grade white boy whom Mr. Koenig described as able and academically advanced. The boy, Jimmy, responded to the question as follows:

Interviewer: You have goals and an activity sheet. What are your goals right now?

Jimmy: (After rummaging around among his things to find his sheets) OK. On math I had to finish a section on measurement by 3/21/80 in the blue book. I was doing a section in that. In reading I have to finish reading Therebex by 3/19/80. And my projects--I have to have five reports finished and start on my truck and truck driver display by 3/21/80. And talking, I have to cut down on talking by at least 50% by 3/21/80. Vocabulary, I will take at least three spelling tests by 3/21/80.

Interviewer: OK what are your activities for today?

Jimmy: I have math, pages 243, 244 and 245 in my math book. Reading: some of the blue books. Vocabulary: find meanings to twelve words for gym. Science: work on radio project and go to the Curriculum Center. And at 11:20 be interviewed. Cause on days like this you know I try to plan ahead cause I know I'm not going to have that much time for different things. I usually like fit smaller stuff into my day, then I have extra stuff for homework. You know whatever I don't get done I usually take home. Which usually works out pretty nicely because math usually goes home. That's one of my biggest projects.

Interviewer: Then what did you do yesterday?

Jimmy: Yesterday? Uhm...(pause)...I don't think I have my yesterday's activity sheet here.

Interviewer: Maybe you can remember.

Jimmy: Well here it is. Like what I did during the day?

Interviewer: Uh-ha.

Jimmy: OK. Let's see at 8:30 I planned my day. At 9:10 I wrote my story on how to make and eat a peanut butter and jelly sandwich. That was a project Mr. Koenig gave us. Let's see at 9:30 I had six measurement problems. I'm going to finish my two pages tonight. At 9:55 I read one and a half blue books. I'll do some more reading tonight at home. At 10:35 science. Learn how radios work. Learn how a TV works and learn how speakers work. At 11:20 I went to the library for some information on radios. I will continue working on it at home tonight. At 12:25 I went to the library and talked to Mrs. Holmes about being a monitor. And then I didn't finish because I have to write down you know like gym and stuff. I've got to write down like lunch, gym cause that's all I did for the rest of the day. Because gym's all afternoon. That's an hour and 25 minutes long.

The second speaker is an eighth grade black girl from the same class. The teacher said she had come in as a sixth grader with third grade skills and an enormous chip on her shoulder which made her flare up at any imagined sleight. She had steadied her temper and learned to work very hard, but hardly improved her skills at all in the intervening years. One of the Academic Support teachers commented in a support group meeting one day that she thought some of the students at Jesse Owens were able to function outside an exceptional education placement only because of the character of the school. She named this girl, Angela Howland, as one who might need the shelter of exceptional education in high school. But listen to how articulately Angela is able to answer even a stranger's questions about her goals and activities:

Interviewer: You have to write goals and an activity sheet each morning. What were your goals and activities for today?

Angela: Finish two lessons in my math folder and read fifteen pages. Finish spelling, write my sentences and look up the meaning first and then write the sentences to them. My writing--I do writing for my English goals--to do two pages of English for homework. And my project was to have a conference with him to find another way to do maps for my project. And that's about it.

Interviewer: And then do you remember what you did yesterday?

Angela: Well yesterday I did spelling. I gathered a list of spelling, pronounced some words out of my reading book. Then I studied them. I spelled each word then I wrote them a couple of times. Then I took it home for homework. Yesterday for reading I read *Miracles* [pages] 72 to 85. Then I have to go upstairs to Ms. Jugend. I go up there at 2:00 and come back at 3:00.

Interviewer: That's academic support for math?

Angela: Yeah. And up there we learn--up there my goal is to learn how to reduce fractions. I learned how to do that yesterday. And then my other goal up there is to learn to subtract fractions the long way. And by the time I got back down from there it was class meeting time and that went from three o'clock until time to go home.

A student from a room which varied toward the more structured side, run by an elementary teacher involuntarily assigned but later converted, indicates the rhythm of life in that room. The speaker, Barbara, is an eighth grade white girl, slightly above average in skills but very serious and responsible according to her teacher:

Interviewer: Well then you're supposed to write goals for the week is it?

Barbara: For two weeks.

Interviewer: For two weeks. OK how do you decide what your goals are going to be?

Barbara: Stuff that you need work on, whatever you have to get at like math if I've got to do a couple extra pages in math, then I'll write that I have to do a couple of extra pages.

Interviewer: OK then for this period what are your goals?

Barbara: I'll take four tests in math. I'll do four activities in language and a letter center. I'll go to reading lab and pass one test, or try to. I'll learn about the religions of Asia by doing three or more activities. I'll be on time to the class activity during class. I'll turn in my weekly report in gym. I'll complete my project on trees.

Interviewer: And then what are your activities for today?

Barbara: Today? Language, the Asia center, gym and meet Ms. Schmidt [self-contained teacher] about math.

Interviewer: And what's the Asia center?

Barbara: The Asia is--she has a center where she has a map and then she has some activities we can do on Asia--on the religions and the language and she changes it every once in a while.

Interviewer: I see. So that's in your room?

Barbara: M-mm.

Interviewer: And do you go over and get stuff and go back to your desk or do you go over there and work?

Barbara: I go over and work or pick an activity and write it down and go to the library and work or something.

Interviewer: Were you out of the room either today or yesterday except for a specialized center?

Barbara: I wasn't today. Because today she was doing something different where we have to catch up on our goals. And if we didn't have that done we have to stay over and work. Today I was doing language and then I was doing....math. But Monday I went to the library a little.

Interviewer: Was that for one of the projects that you mentioned?

Barbara: Ya for the trees.

Interviewer: Is the library a pretty good place to work?

Barbara: M-hum most of the time it's quiet and I like the resources--they have all the resources.

An able girl from a middle class family, a white eighth grader, placed in the room of one of the least competent teachers demonstrates a good deal of initiative and responsibility on her own:

Interviewer: Well then you're supposed to set goals. How often is it in your class that you set them?

Suzanne: Well, whenever you want to. You should set at least a few every week.

Interviewer: Well what are your goals for this week?

Suzanne: (pause)...uhm...one of them is not to talk with my friends so much, because I have been goofing around a lot. And to get some English done and some math.

Interviewer: And then what are your activities for today?

Suzanne: I'm going to the reading lab and I'm doing silent reading, some English and some math, right now that's what I have.

Interviewer: And then do you remember what you did on Friday?

Suzanne: Pretty much the same thing as today except for I had a meeting.

Interviewer: What kind of a meeting?

Suzanne: Independent study group. There's some kids, we get together and work on social studies.

Interviewer: And that's kids within your room or is it kids in different rooms?

Suzanne: Kids in different rooms.

Interviewer: And do you work by yourselves or do you have an adult?

Suzanne: By ourselves.

Interviewer: And how did that get organized if it's between rooms?

Suzanne: Just well one of my friends thought it would be neat to have this, so we got some kids together.

Interviewer: And then got your teachers' permissions?

Suzanne: Uh-ha.

Interviewer: And where do you meet?

Suzanne: In 34A [the room belonging to the teacher with a free school philosophy.]

On the other hand a very able but not very ambitious boy shows the results of his teacher's prodding. The teacher in question was one of the two or three most concerned with an integrated curriculum and with teaching social skills. But she was also rather systematic in seeing that children were exposed to a range of curricular topics. The boy, a white eighth grader, spoke:

Interviewer: Well then you're supposed to make out goals each two weeks is it? [Umhum.] What are your goals right now?

Mike: Well one is to work through my algebra book in the next couple of weeks, if I can or do it as fast as I can. And one is to go to reading lab to try to get my study skills. And one is to set up a center in the class for the other students' use, and one is to get done with my autobiography which I have to have done by April 1st.

Interviewer: And what's the center you're setting up?

Mike: I'm not really sure yet because I just made the goal last Monday and sort of....Well I was thinking about like setting up a human body center with the help of Ms. Layne. She suggested that I do that for the class cause she thought the class isn't doing very well in that and she wanted to set that up. So she asked if I would do that.

Interviewer: And what do you need to do that? What kind of materials and so forth?

Mike: Well I guess that I would have to get down to the curriculum center and check out some books on it and read up on it before I could set it up because I'm not that great on it really.

Interviewer: Well then what are your activities for today?

Mike: Well today...after this I'll be going to science monitor where I clean the cages and help the teacher like feed the pets and do stuff like that. And then I'll probably work on my autobiography for a while because I still have to finish two chapters....possibly three if I condense one. I'll work out of my algebra book for a while probably and then they're starting new offerings in reading lab and if I need that I'll probably go there. In the afternoon usually we have group meeting and film. Ms. Layne usually sets up a little more. Cause she likes to have her students in the class in the afternoon.

Finally, a girl working below grade level in the room of one of the less skilled teachers answered in a pattern which was common among the students so situated. She was a black seventh grader:

Interviewer: Well then you make goals and then you write out what you're going to do for the day. What are your goals for this two weeks?

Ella: Math, English, writing...go to the AVP center. Go to the reading lab.

Interviewer: And then what are your activities for today? What are you going to do today?

Ella: Math, reading, English and go to the reading lab.

Interviewer: And what did you do yesterday?

Ella: Math...English and I listened to the tape recorder.

Interviewer: And what was on the tape recorder?

Ella: The music.

Interviewer: And what are you going to the AVP center for?

Ella: You can type. You type there.

Interviewer: So it's learning how to type?

Ella: M-hum.

Many students like this one, usually with low skills, generally from working class backgrounds, translated the activities of the school into the language of traditional classes and subjects. These were often students who did not know they were coming to an open education school and who seemed to need to legitimize the school, or perhaps to understand it, in traditional terms.

More able students more often found the school as they had expected it to be. They had chosen it more planfully, and they took advantage of its offerings more adeptly. However, some of these able students took advantage of its offerings in the negative sense. Some of these were children who found it difficult to do school work in any setting and who adeptly avoided it at Jesse Owens, using the rhetoric and arrangements of the system as they did so. The staff were generally aware of what they were doing, but not always able to change their behavior. Some of the difficult children who were steered into the school by other schools were of this kind.

The student mix constituted a serious problem for the school. There was a large contingent of children with working class and lower class backgrounds, often neighborhood black children but sometimes white children whose parents were seeking a change for various reasons, who considered real school to consist in textbooks and worksheets (cf. Herndon, 1969) and were puzzled by Jesse Owens's approach. Many of these students and some others had such weak reading skills and so little experience in independent academic work that they were very poorly equipped to learn from the school's system, even when they wanted to.

The relatively large number of students with varying skills who had difficulty adjusting to the routine of any school or in disciplining themselves to effort or to even the very equalitarian authority of Owens's teachers also constituted a problem. A significant proportion of students who had difficulties elsewhere ceased to have them at Jesse Owens. But the school could only absorb a limited number of such children. Those who did not respond to its gentle and participatory pressures took inordinate amounts of teachers' time and disturbed other students. Yet it was difficult to keep such students out if they applied through the standard procedure.[10] The school had fairly well articulated steps for dealing with students whom teachers found beyond their reach. But when all the resources of the school failed and administrators finally suggested to parents that the child be transferred elsewhere, it was common for the parents to refuse on the grounds that the student was doing better than before.

The presence of both of these kinds of students was gradually changing the nature of the school. But before discussing that issue, it is important to look at how Owens looked to the outside world through its test scores. In the spring of the study, the test scores reported in the media were very low and the staff took the problem up as the topic of a staff meeting. Neither the newspaper nor the school had the scores of these children in the fifth grade before they entered Jesse Owens. The staff thought that low skills among entrants were an important source of low skills in the seventh grade (the only grade tested). But they also discussed their students' unfamiliarity with the testing situation with its requirements for an intense burst of concentration and rapid work. Their students also lacked the competitive racelike mind-set appropriate to a testing situation, but not normally encouraged in Owens's emphasis upon growth along one's own trajectory. They also discussed the unfamiliarity of the format of simple, unitary questions with multiple choice answers. Some teachers thought that some children might have difficulty with the mechanics of the format and others with the mental set presumed in this kind of questioning (cf. Swidler, 1976). The meeting included considerable discussion of actions which could assist children in raising their scores by lessening these handicaps in the testing situation.

The test results the staff discussed were those of the current eighth graders made available almost a year after the tests were given to them as seventh graders. Emphasis in this meeting was on short term strategies to help the current seventh graders in the tests soon coming up. There was also some discussion of longer term strategies. No one except the teacher with a free school philosophy questioned the importance of working on skills of test taking, despite the discontinuity between such closed-ended tests of skill and the major goals of the school. First, it was clear that scores which understated children's knowledge would handicap them as individuals. Second, the tests raised questions about the actual state of children's skill development and whether it in fact needed more concentrated attention. The curriculum co-ordinator and principal suggested trying short term strategies to improve children's capacity to deal with the test situation and then watching results to see if there were improvement. Third, and probably most important, such low scores when published hurt the school's stock with the central administration and board. They also might discourage parents of children with good skills from choosing the school.

Table 5-3 shows a comparison of the seventh grade scores for the spring of 1979, those discussed at the 1980 meeting, and of 1980. The short range strategies appear to have produced some modest improvements, as best one can tell given the system's broad categories for reporting. More depressing for the school, Table 5-4 and 5-5 show a comparison of scores in the fifth grade and the seventh grade for the cohort taking the test at Jesse Owens in the seventh grade in the spring of 1980. The scores in math actually deteriorated in the two years during which students were at Jesse Owens,[11] while the pattern in reading is mixed.

This longitudinal comparison indicates that low entering scores, though important as already shown in Tables 5-1 and 5-2, were not the whole of Jesse Owens's problems with test scores. It is very difficult to measure the effects of the unaccustomed character of the testing situation. But these figures certainly leave open the question of whether Owens's methods sufficed to keep children's basic skills up to the mark.

At the same time these tests do nothing to measure the kind of

Table 5-3

Jesse Owens Seventh Grade

Percent of Students Falling in Three Categories of the Distribution of Metropolitan Achievement Tests in Spring 1979 and Spring 1980

	Reading		Mathematics	
	1979 Cohort	1980 Cohort	1979 Cohort	1980 Cohort
High*	10	9	4	10
Average	38	50	33	42
Low	52	41	63	48

Source: Heartland Public Schools, Profile of Schools for 1978-1979 and for 1979-1980

*These categories represent high scores between the 78th and 99th percentile, average scores between the 24th and 77th percentile and low scores below the 23rd percentile.

Table 5-4

Comparison of Jesse Owens Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1978 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1980

	Fifth Grade-1978	Seventh Grade-1980
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	77	78
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	58	53
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	26	33
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	14	12
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	6	6
	N=129	N=139

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 5-5

Comparison of Jesse Owens Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1978 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1980

	Fifth Grade-1978	Seventh Grade-1980
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	77	75
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	58	45
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	29	21
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	16	11
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	8	3
	N=125	N=139

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

initiative, responsibility, and self-respect which the school wanted to instill as its first order of business. A student like Angela Howland with really low ability might grow enormously in her personal and social capacities and even work hard as Angela did, yet fall further behind her classmates academically. A child with severe emotional problems might improve in that area and still make little academic progress. A relatively small proportion of such children could account for the deterioration in the cohort, while the majority progressed about evenly from where they had started.[12]

My data do not allow me to choose among the possible interpretations of their source. More important the data available to the central office, school board, and parents do not allow them to choose among them either. Yet, the weight of tradition is likely to incline them to attribute the low scores to a failure in the school's program--since there is no measure of how exactly the same mixture of students might have fared under a traditional program.

The school is subject to very real political consequences from these low scores, most especially in the vicious cycle they are likely to cause in recruitment. But also the board and central office, always restless under the program's high costs, are likely to see these costs as giving little benefit when scores are so low.

Interpretation of the scores is no easier within the school, than at a distance. Hypotheses may come more readily to hand but not hard evidence. Thus the school also must judge its response in the light of the political force of test scores with only uneven anecdotal data to stand over against the scores as signs of progress in more diffuse areas.

CHANGE IN THE PROGRAM OVER TIME

Though the test scores made an impact on the faculty as they were highlighted by the principal, they only accentuated a process which had been slowly occurring in any case. The teachers both individually and collectively were aware that the students were having difficulties with open education particularly when they had low skills, little prior knowledge of open education, and a previous home and school experience largely inconsistent with it. Teachers were learning to spell out the character of open education more explicitly and to give the children more direction in how to approach it.

The principal and curriculum co-ordinator agreed wholeheartedly with this trend and if anything they led it. Thus the school had a formal orientation lasting for eight afternoons in the first two weeks of school, and a series of half days scattered through the rest of the year. During this time, common programs planned by the curriculum co-ordinator and a faculty committee, were used in all classrooms to describe the nature of open education as Jesse Owens practiced it and to give the students beginning experience with it. It was underscored that open education in the sense of the student's full responsibility for his or her own learning is a goal, a point to be reached by learning, not a right to be immediately assumed. Only as a student learns in concert with his teacher how to set good goals, to plan activities that lead toward them, to budget and allocate his time, and to evaluate his progress, does he or she move gradually away from direction by and then with the teacher to independence with the teacher acting as consultant. Later sessions dealt with components of the system—for example what constitutes a good goal, how to choose it, how to relate it to specific activities, and how to judge one's progress toward it.

Teachers with long experience spoke of moving more slowly into open education at the beginning of the year than they used to. They started with fewer materials and ideas available to the children. They required students to interact with all that was available and they might set a time schedule for activities. They showed the children how to work with the materials used in the school and supervised them fairly closely as they moved through initial projects which had more common requirements than later ones would.

Teachers with long experience also talked of moving toward somewhat more traditional conceptions of goals. Most spoke of reaching this conclusion by watching the goals and accomplishments that the students were actually pursuing and reaching. The times, the change in the students, and the newer teachers with more traditional ideas all had a part in the push in this direction. One of the original teachers widely considered to be both skilled and dedicated to open education talked about this process in his interview:

Interviewer: What do you see as the goals the school is ideally trying to reach? Would these be included in what you said before about setting goals and developing a plan?

Mr. Koenig: Well, stated in another way, we're here to help kids become self-directed and I don't know if everybody agrees on that... Certainly my view has changed. I used to think that meant helping kids do what they wanted to do to the best of their ability. I think there's more to learn. They should be doing some of the things that I think they should be doing. I think that adults have experiences that kids don't have. We ought to be able to recommend certain ways in order for them to pick up skills that it would be awful for them not to learn even if they don't see the value right away. But ah...ya, I would say that being self-directed learners is the goal of our school. To me to be self-directed is to lead towards self-actualization. That's my definition of success.

To feel you lead a fulfilling life. That's different for everybody but yet a lot of people never get to that point. I just know too many adults who have not gotten to that point and I don't think ever will. They feel unfulfilled, and they're maybe past thirty years old and feel they're never going to be able to change. And don't want to do anything about it because that's a challenge. That's kind of disappointing, just to see people die that way....

Interviewer: Well did you come to the conclusion about the importance of saying to children, "Look here's a skill you're going to need," by yourself? Or is that something that the faculty's been moving toward together?

Mr. Koenig: I think it's been brought up and I think that people who are more traditionally oriented, maybe who have no open ed background pointed out to the rest of us that there were some things that weren't being learned that were important. And why not? So that led me at least to evaluate what was going on in my classroom. To try to figure out why weren't kids taking homework with them? Why do some kids not read at all or as little as possible?

And then I started to realize that most of the kids really weren't setting goals. And even in the initial stages what I was doing wasn't helping. The goals they were setting were so...(pause)...mundane and, oh I don't know,...piddling. They weren't exciting. They weren't meaningful. They didn't have any relationship to what the kids wanted to do in the future, near future or distant future. They were just goals that they set because they had to set goals.

Whereas I think that if a kid says, 'Well I read at the 5th grade level and boy I'd like to read at an 8th grade level by the end of the year,' that's a challenge. That's a real challenge and it's something that they can work for. So that when they start setting their daily goals and their daily plans, they have a target they're pushing for. Something that's worthwhile. I guess maybe that's the key word. Setting worthwhile goals.

Some of the kids--well alot of the kids--still aren't in my estimation doing that. But they're starting to get the hang of it. What do I really want to learn? What is really important? I don't think that kids need to set in concrete what their values are. And I think that's a danger if we lead them to believe that--or lead ourselves to believe it--they're going to start really having some clear cut values. You want to move in that direction. Keep them going that way, rather than saying 'well, life is whatever happens to you today.'

The newer teachers most of whom had been in the school three years, since the start of the second year in the Rodgers building, were moving in the opposite direction. Most had previously taught in traditional elementary schools. They had become enthusiasts for open education as they saw how much better they got to know their students, and as they saw students mature and take increasing responsibility under the Jesse Owens system. But they were still deeply attached to traditional curricular goals and many traditional patterns. The two groups thus mutually influenced each other and moved toward one another despite the fact that their continuing disagreements led to mild tension between them.

Another group who contributed to the move toward traditional patterns were a small group of black teachers who for the most part had been with the original program, but who maintained some reservations about it. These teachers were especially concerned about the students with low skills, the more so if they were minority members or had families which gave them little educational or economic advantage. They argued that a certain amount of traditional learning had to be demanded from children whose skills and life chances were poor, because the failure to acquire basic skills simply put them at too much of a disadvantage to be risked. These teachers used more oral instruction in small and large groups and more oral interchange among students than did others. They set more general tasks to be done by all students and set and strictly monitored deadlines. But they also followed the school's general patterns for part of the day and believed the development of individual responsibility was important.

The principal was moving the school quite self-consciously and explicitly toward greater structure. He proposed to the faculty and won their consent for several measures in this direction. In meetings the spring before the year of the study they had settled on "quality and consistency" as general goals for the year. He also instituted new arrangements. It was at that time that there were formal and standard sheets made up on which students were to write out their goals every two weeks. And there were standard sheets for statements of the activities planned for each day. Every student had a folder in which to keep these sheets. Students were expected to carry these folders with them wherever they went during the school day outside their regular classroom. The activity sheet should state the activity for which they were leaving their room and the statement should be initialed by their teacher. Thus teachers in the various resource centers would know that children were arriving on legitimate business and children who seemed to be wandering the halls could be questioned and sent onward or back to their self-contained classrooms. Students leaving their rooms to go to the bathroom were to take wooden paddles with the room number on them and return them when they returned to the room.

The principal took these steps with the double intention of tightening control over students who took advantage of the school's freedom to wander or lounge about and of making more explicit and systematic the process of goal setting and its tie with daily activities. He also said to me more than once that he had reached the conclusion that open education is for students not teachers. He felt more comfortable than he previously had in issuing clear hierarchical orders to the teachers for standard procedures in the school.

In general, then, the school was moving toward a more explicit and systematic structure supporting the processes it had always endorsed. It was also moving toward somewhat more traditional methods of instruction and a heightened concern with mastery of goals in basic skills. While neither of these traditional elements had been totally eschewed earlier, they had received less emphasis. In part the school made these changes in recognition of the weakness in students' basic skills and of their lack of training in taking responsibility for their own learning. The tasks in the areas both of basic skills and of teaching the earlier stages in progress toward responsibility for learning needed more pressing attention with this population than with the earlier population of students. In part the staff were responding to different opinions among their own numbers, to the persuasive arguments of some of their less wholehearted enthusiasts. And in part they were responding to political realities outside the school as low test scores and perceptions of lack of emphasis on the basic skills discouraged applicants, especially those with ability and ambition, who were best suited to the program. Political pressures from above could threaten the existence of the school if it continued to have difficulty drawing students on a desegregated basis and continued to show patterns of low tested achievement.

FACULTY CULTURE

I have already suggested some of the commonalities and variations in the perspectives of the Owens faculty. Despite the variations in their understanding of open education, most were enthusiasts for it as they understood and practiced it. They agreed upon the general principle of shaping education around developing the ability to be responsible for one's own learning. They agreed that the structure of the school allowed for better acquaintance between teachers and students and for expression of fuller selves in the classroom. And they found those conditions beneficial to children's overall development. They thought themselves to be more effective teachers, making a greater positive difference in children's lives, than they could in more traditional settings. They joined together in solidarity at the possibility of a threat to the school or at criticism of it from outside.

Still there were serious cleavages which ran through the faculty. The most serious of these was the cleavage between the self-contained teachers and the specialized-center teachers. The self-contained teachers believed the specialized-center teachers to have a lighter load as they had none of the housekeeping chores and fewer of the record keeping chores which fell upon self-contained teachers. They also saw the specialized-center teachers as inappropriately subject oriented, teaching a more or less set curriculum in a more or less traditional way. Children were expected to turn their attention to the designated subject for all of their time in the specialized-center classes.

Compounding this cleavage was the fact that a large proportion of the specialized-center teachers had not been part of the original faculty. The remaining teachers from Rodgers were disproportionately represented in this group. The cleavage was sharpened during the study when funds for the math laboratory and for two aides were withdrawn and then a self-contained teacher and one of the teachers in the reading laboratory resigned to leave the city. The self-contained teachers took on extra students from the room whose teacher left in order to free a teacher to restore the math laboratory. But just then the reading laboratory virtually closed to children for a couple of weeks as a new teacher there was trained. The timing of these changes underscored for the self-contained teachers their broad responsibility for children in large numbers while the specialized-center teachers seemed to them to have more limited responsibilities.

For the most part these groups were separated by the structural requirements of their different roles. In a heated faculty meeting, one reading lab teacher defended their need to work carefully and systematically if they were to be more than a babysitting service. The reading lab with its highly programmed Heartland Reading Continuum was probably the most subject-centered enterprise in the school. But the other specialized-center classes also needed a more subject-centered approach as most taught subjects to which middle school students came as uninitiated beginners. Also as these teachers saw three times as many children for about one third as long as the other teachers and changed cohorts every six weeks, they could not develop as much depth and breadth of acquaintance and of curriculum with most of them.

These structurally induced differences in roles were compounded by the fact that some of the specialized-center teachers never had become integrated into the social life of the faculty and did not move far toward open education. Still, some of the other specialized-center teachers made a great effort to modify their curriculum and their mode of interaction with students to tailor it to the interests, talents, and progress of individual students. Most of the rest were at least conscientious teachers of subjects which they thought it important for students to master.

Acrimony gathered around this split at the time when self-contained teachers felt the pinch of declining resources. It reflected major strains in the school as much as the actions of the persons directly involved. The self-contained teachers saw the specialized-center ones as partially representing the traditional world of education to which they must constantly justify themselves. And seeing the job of such teachers as easier, they felt the more keenly the gradually but steadily increasing load which declining resources put upon them.[13]

The cleavage between self-contained and specialized-center teachers continued in part because the faculty had become quite socially fractionated. Except at staff meetings they rarely gathered in large groups. The teachers' lounge was usually empty during the day, or occupied only by one or two assistant teachers (aides). Even at lunch time when it became the teachers' lunchroom, there were rarely more than five or six teachers present and a group of assistant teachers who sat together at a separate table. Other teachers ate bag lunches in their rooms or in small groups of neighbors. Some went out for lunch to restaurants which required a drive from the school--again usually in fairly small groups.

The contrast was striking with Adams where the teachers used their lounge/lunchroom as a basis for building solidarity across divisive lines. At Adams teachers could not have eaten in their rooms which were used by children for recreation during half the lunch hour. But they could have gone to restaurants many of which were available within two blocks of the school--and two or three isolates did so.

Owens teachers may have eaten in their rooms out of convenience and a desire to work through the lunch hour. But that does not explain the long trips to restaurants. The lack of use of the downstairs dining room may have been explicable in part by an idiosyncratic accident. One teacher regularly ate lunch there. He dominated conversation every time I went to the teachers' lunchroom with talk of his out of school hobby--one of limited interest to others and one which requires more wealth than most teachers have at their disposal for recreation. Thus it is possible that this teacher simply drove away all but the hardiest or hungriest of his colleagues. However, the process is circular, since a larger group would have insulated some members from his conversation on any given day.

Most of the voluntary contact between teachers occurred in small groups over lunch and before and after school. Thus congenial pairs and triangles gathered, but persons with widely differing views were not drawn into common discussions as might happen in a larger group. Formal support group meetings continued, with about five teachers and the principal and curriculum co-ordinator present. However, these usually dealt with policy decisions or logistical arrangements of various kinds; they were only indirectly places to discuss broad philosophy, classroom strategies, or problems. They were therefore only a limited vehicle for discussions of the heart of the school's activities among persons who might not understand each other well.

At the same time, Owens's faculty was keenly aware of their interdependence. Because they dealt with children as whole persons both intellectually and personally, their students' activities while out of their own rooms were of significant interest to them. And because children traveled about the school freely rather than in regimented groups, self-contained teachers became aware of the useful opportunities, the level of learning, and the attractive distractions available to their children outside the self-contained classrooms. In support group meetings the behavior of other teachers, either individually or collectively, was often a subject of discussion. Teachers were concerned if other teachers allowed students to roam the halls, to draw these teachers' students into escapades, or to be rude to adults who asked to see their folders and know their errand. They were also concerned if other teachers taught their own students very little or treated them inconsiderately when they went to resource areas, labs, or specialized-center classes.

The school thus had a number of structural and cultural conditions condusive to tension among the faculty. The teaching conditions and goals of the self-contained and specialized-center teachers differed along lines that were often paralleled by their backgrounds and consequent informal social affinities. Teachers felt a high sense of interdependence in their common effects on students, but these effects were usually wrought out of the presence of the varied adults concerned; so that discussion and compromise about specific conditions or behavior were difficult. Finally, there were few regular opportunities in the school for prolonged discussion of either specific practice or fundamental strategy among teachers who did not agree.

At the same time, the school may have provided more such opportunities for discussion than does the average school with self-contained classes (usually an elementary school.)[14] In its earlier days, according to old timers, support groups had more nearly fit their names. They had involved extended and quite candid discussions of classroom practice. Even though these teachers often commented that support group meetings had become administratively oriented, they seemed to me to involve more open discussion of issues over which there were differences--though often with absent parties--than did unit or team meetings at the other schools. Further, when I asked the newer teachers how they had learned to do open education, several said they had observed in other teachers' classrooms during their own preparation periods. Some of the more experienced teachers maintained this practice, to keep themselves refreshed and open to new ideas. Such sharing, even if it came fairly quickly to be channeled along sympathetic lines and was not universal, was unheard of in the other two schools.

There were also several committees set up in the school to discuss various issues such as plans for the continuing orientation. These were constituted by the principal except when they were staffed by volunteers. In either case they were likely to be diverse. There were also more staff meetings at Owens than at the other schools. They could be held once a week. Though they were generally rarer than that in practice, they were more common than the once a month at other schools. Staff meetings also involved far more open discussion and vigorous disagreement both among the faculty and between the faculty and the principal at Owens than at either of the other two schools.

The adults in the school seemed to carry over into their relationship with each other some of the quality of their relationships with the children. They responded to one another less in terms of formal roles, including superorindination and subordination and more as total persons. They were direct and forceful in their disagreements and they felt strongly about them. At the same time there was an atmosphere of acceptance among the adults as there was between teacher and student. A cloak of common purpose and of solidarity against the uncomprehending outside surrounded them all. It stretched more thinly around the specialized-center teachers, especially those from Rodgers, but still it was a boundary between the school and the rest of the world which made all fellow members in a valued enterprise.

I found repeatedly as I reflected on events, statements, and relationships at Owens that I spontaneously used images from the family rather than those from bureaucracies with which to summarize my impressions. It seemed that, like a family, the Owens teachers openly argued, developed alliances, and judged one another. But also like a family they accepted one another as part of a group in which belonging was not questioned and in which there is desire to work constructively with even severe disagreement for the sake of the continuing entity. A shared attachment to the success of the school and to a partially shared vision of its distinctiveness bound nearly all the teachers together in a sense of common purpose for which they were willing to forgive and compromise if given an opportunity.

THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE

Mr. Osten, the principal at Jesse Owens, played a crucial role. Several teachers said they thought the school would be very different or would not even continue to exist without him. There were several facets to his importance in the school's life.

The Principal and the Students

Mr. Osten played a very active part in the school's inner life with both students and teachers. He was visible and available to the students. He went outside every day to supervise recess after lunch and thus had an opportunity to mingle with students and to talk with them in an informal way. He was also visible to them, even on chilly and windy days, as some one willing to spend his time among them. Though his office was buffered from the school as a whole by being placed down a hall from the main office, he was willing to see students who requested to see him and he engaged in a good many of the disciplinary interviews which teachers requested. He also worked with a group of students who made morning announcements and in earlier days he taught six week mini-courses offered on special topics for interested students.

As I was in his office on various errands and as I was near it to interview students I was privy to several of his disciplinary interchanges with students. He could be extremely firm and often gave children very clear messages concerning his and the school's displeasure with their inappropriate behavior. He then usually required them to come up with some kind of a plan for improvement, under his or their teacher's supervision, with various check points for their performance. At the same time, while he could be clearly angry and disapproving toward students, he maintained the assumption that they were perfectly capable of better behavior. They needed effort and persistence, not moral rebirth. He was, in other words, accepting of them as persons even though he could be expressively rejecting of their actions. This tone of relationship was repeated throughout the school. It was assumed that every child was capable of appropriate behavior, though some seemed retrograde in their willingness to display that capability. And a few seemed ill-suited to the setting.

The Principal and the Teachers

The principal also was very much involved with the teachers. He spent a good deal of time outside his office and a good deal in the classrooms. With any kind of special program he made it a policy to visit all, or nearly all, the rooms to see what activities they were engaged in. He also tried to visit every room under more routine circumstances to see what was being done there and talk to the teacher about it. If he had an administrative matter to discuss with a teacher, he might drop into the room rather than call the teacher down if the conversation would be short. If the teacher were busy, he would wait until the current activity ended. As far as I could tell his entry into a room was sufficiently routine so that children ignored it, not changing their behavior in any way because of his presence.

At least at the beginning of the year, he supervised teachers and children together as he requested goal and activity sheets for a whole class and took them home to read and make comments upon. This behavior seemed to be widely accepted as part of the orientation in which every one was learning how to get a good start in the techniques of developing open education.

The principal also asked each teacher to write out goals for each year and to describe the activities which would help toward reaching those goals. That document written at the beginning of the year could then be a basis for their discussion of the year's progress from time to time. He also wrote out his own goals and instrumental activities and distributed them to teachers in an act of reciprocity.

The relationship as he defined it was not a symmetrical one, however. He said that he had decided to be somewhat more directive with the teachers than he had in the recent past. The distribution of standard sheets for students' goals and activities and the use of paddles with room numbers for trips to the bathroom were one of the fruits of this directiveness. And his visits to classrooms, even if made in a friendly and low key fashion, did constitute relatively close supervision for a school principal. They gave him a basis for detailed discussion with teachers whose teaching he thought needed improvement--and there were a few with whom he had protracted conversations.

However, teachers did not experience his presence as close supervision. Rather they spoke of his intimate knowledge of what was happening in the school. They praised him for spending time with children and for knowing what was happening in classrooms. (There was variation in this warmth. And those teachers who were probably subject to the most criticism were among the least enthusiastic.)[15]

This supervision may have been the easier to bear because it was consistent with the announced philosophy of the school and with the overall direction of most of the teachers. It was also exercised with a light hand and with respect for differences within the general directions of the school. Thus the principal emphasized the need to spell out structures through which children could move toward responsibility for directing their learning. In other words, such responsibility could be taught and there were some common tools for teaching it. He also expected children to demonstrate, and teachers to demand, good faith effort and progress both in ordinary academic skills and in the special ones of clear and realistic goal setting, of orderly and reasonable planning for activity, and of conscientious and systematic follow-through on plans. These were expectations which were hard to quarrel with in the context of the school, at least in principle.

The principal also won support from the teachers because of his willingness to listen to differing opinions on issues and to try to find ways to accomodate a variety of styles and desires. He had a capacity to respect variation and to see it as legitimate part of the school so long as it fell within certain broad limits--and as long as it seemed to have serious pedagogical purpose. However, this very openess was also probably the characteristic for which the principal was most often criticized. Some teachers found him too sympathetic to others who disagreed with them on various issues, and others resented the time in discussion and the slow policy-making which were a concomitant of his desire to accomodate as many as possible. They would have preferred more hierarchical direction--or so they said. Had it gone against their desires they might have liked it less than they anticipated.

Probably the principal's greatest virtue in the eyes of the faculty, however, was his willingness to do battle for open education with the higher reaches of the school system. Some faculty were much more aware of these activities than were others, but all when asked seemed to agree that the principal played an important role in making the case for the distinctiveness of open education and in protecting the school from various incursions upon it.

Principals in the other schools were resented by some teachers as lackeys of higher officials and as claiming unreasonable, though not strictly illegitimate, powers of command in exercising their bureaucratic rights to demand compliance with the specialty or with other procedures. Mr. Osten, though he was in his informal way the most closely supervising of the three, was not resented for it. This was so in part because he was seen as one of "us" in being an advocate of open education. His hierarchical activities were an internal matter. Some teachers questioned whether so much co-ordination and standardization of practice as he asked were beneficial. Individual teachers quarreled with his interpretation of open education. But these were debates within the ingroup--perhaps once more the family--of persons commonly striving toward a good open education school.

The other principals, on the other hand, were seen as representatives of the larger school system dealing with the school when they exercised hierarchical authority. IGE and the gifted and talented program were seen by many teachers as programs imposed upon the school with conditions which were inappropriate or unreasonable. When the principals demanded that the specialties be enacted, they became outsiders, not understanding the working conditions of the faculty. At Mann many other commands for daily procedure were similarly interpreted.[16]

The Principal and the Central Office

Mr. Osten had developed some subtlety in his relationships with the central office. He did not disobey direct commands even when he disagreed with them. As he passed them on to teachers he might express his disagreement, but he reminded them that in a public school system there are some orders that simply have to be complied with. He had argued their case and lost.

But there were times when he knew it was better not to ask for a ruling. If some practice might possibly violate a district practice or rule, but it was not a very visible practice, the best course was often simply not to inquire about its consistency with district practice. If it came to official notice for some reason, a ruling on its consistency with district policy could be made later better than sooner.

He had no ambitions to rise further in the district and placed his loyalties firmly with the school. But he was also aware of the political and organizational context within which the school had to live and astute in judging it. He knew that the school's survival depended upon a judicious mix of acceptance of standardized practice, compromise, and insistence upon those specialized resources and practices without which the school would lose its special character.

The Principal and Curriculum Co-ordinator as a Team

An account of the principal's impact on the school would not be complete without a description of the close working relationship he developed with the curriculum co-ordinator. Their styles and their understandings of organizational process were quite different. But their visions of open education were much closer together and they had developed a close working relationship despite their disagreements.

The curriculum co-ordinator, Ms. Vogel had been working at the branch of the state university in the city when Rodgers Annex was opened. Mr. Osten had gotten to know her through a workshop and had requested that she be appointed to Rodgers Annex. She was a woman of enormous energy and force of character with a thoroughgoing dedication to open education. She had had a large hand in forging the form which open education took at the school. And she had carved out a position as the conduit through which all curricular materials passed from the central office to the school. She thus was able to limit materials she considered inappropriate to open education, while she carried on a continuous and lively search for materials of a great variety which were appropriate.

She had a large part in shaping the orientation which all teachers gave the students on open education. That two week process shaped the teachers' vision of it for the year as well as the students'. She acted as a resource for teachers and was present in their rooms from time to time. She was not reticent in letting them know where she thought they showed strengths in open education and where weaknesses--though she had learned that her role could not be formally evaluative.

She also had played a major role in the early years as the program was designed in orchestrating campaigns to get permission from the central office and--more often--the board for exceptions to standard procedure and for the annual renewal of the school. She cultivated connections with active parents and helped to get their support when the school needed to make its case.

She was then a source of ideas and of political energy and resources. Her flowing energy and her drive for philosophical purity had played a large part in getting the school launched, setting its sights so clearly on its distinctiveness, and establishing its rights vis-a-vis the district. But these contributions to the school brought with them some corresponding problems. Along with the strength of her energy and the brightness of her vision for open education came a certain intolerance for those who did not share that vision. As Ms. Vogel herself remarked to me in telling me the history of the school early in the study, she alienated some people in the curriculum division at the central office with her direct dismissal of the texts and orderly subject based curricular approaches to which they had given their working lives. In her sureness of the virtues of open education and her desire to get on expeditiously with the task of practicing it, she often forgot to be tactful with others unfamiliar with, or unsympathetic to, that vision.

Within the school she developed the same difficulties with teachers she thought inadequate in either the precept or practice of open education. She tended to tell them very directly where she thought they were mistaken and what she thought they should do differently in a way which often led to strains in personal relations. Some teachers came to see that she merely was direct and that an equally strong response would lead to a reasonable working relationship even if not to a ready sympathy of points of view. But other teachers were affronted and responded defensively. Such responses could lead to mutual rejection and a termination of active relations. Ms. Vogel had developed such problems with several of the specialized-center teachers and tended to side with the self-contained teachers in the rift between the two, a fact which deepened it.

Mr. Osten differed from Ms. Vogel in having fires of enthusiasm for open education which were banked to burn less brightly, if no less steadily. And because of his responsibilities for administration rather than curriculum, he had a much broader view of the pressures on the school and on the teachers. He was more willing to tolerate variety in the form of open education and even partial departure from it. Part of this tolerance may have come from his personality--which was, however, strong and sometimes tempermental in its own way. More of it probably came from his responsibilities as an administrator which led him to comprehend the realistic limits on his control over teachers and the need to work as constructively as possible with teachers he would not have chosen and might have liked to transfer if he could have. Similarly, his placement in the formal linking position between the school and the larger school system made him more aware than the curriculum co-ordinator of the power of the larger system over myriads of small but important matters and the limits to the number of battles one could mount and win.

At the same time, Mr. Osten spoke of the value of his working relation with Ms. Vogel in keeping up his energy and vision for the school's distinctiveness and its possibilities in the face of the wearing realities of administering its daily practice. Ms. Vogel spoke with admiration of his capacity to deal regularly with the pressures from the central office, with the constant demand to interpret the school's needs, and with the regular risk of being criticized for some departure from ordinary procedure. Each had come to recognize the complementarity of their relationship and the distinctive contribution each made to the consciousness of the other and the running of the school.

Their relationship mirrored in microcosm much of the distinctive tone and structure of the school. They worked closely together, rarely passing a day without conversation, often with several brief conversations in a day. At various points in the research I was present in several such conversations, some short, some quite lengthy.

At first I was struck by the personal tone of the conversations. With two strong personalities and different sets of responsibilities, they often disagreed. They did so vigorously, sometimes raising their voices and interrupting each other. At first I was mildly alarmed at such visible conflict, but after a time it became clear that this was the conflict of an established relationship; the strength of the bond holding it together was stronger than the very real specific disagreements being expressed. As with the teachers, family metaphors came to mind, as of an elderly brother and sister who have lived together, disagreeing, for many years.

The metaphor was correct in that the relationship was a personal one which allowed the expression of a range of emotion and of facets of personality which are often suppressed in relations between organizational actors. And in this the relationship resembled that in Owens's classrooms. But, also like those relationships this relationship was still distinctly conditioned by the organizational roles of each actor. Both of them knew and recognized that the principal had the formal last word and that the curriculum co-ordinator could only have her way in a disagreement by persuasion or by any of the other various informal bargaining techniques which subordinates may use to affect the actions of superordinates. In formal settings such as staff meetings also they altered their behavior to a much less collegial form, one more directly recognizing his formal position at the head of the school and hers as formally simply a consulting teacher.

Some persons outside the school commented that the curriculum co-ordinator had had more visible power to outsiders until approximately the time of the study's beginning than she has had in the succeeding two years. If these observations are correct, behavior in this dyad is responding the pressures on the school as a whole. In the early years after desegregation the school was in a strengthened position to ask for what it needed and to state its distinctiveness publicly in its own terms. As it has developed long term difficulties in recruiting whites and in test scores, its position has been weakened. There is therefore less scope for the curriculum co-ordinator as spokesperson for its special character and more need for the role of the principal as careful balancer of varied organizational forces.

CONCLUSION

Jesse Owens Open Education School is without doubt the most distinctive of the three schools described in this study. And it is without doubt the one most thoroughly shaped by its formal educational innovation. Teachers and administrators take seriously alterations in the goals, technology and structure of traditional schools as they shape the life and work of Jesse Owens.

Teachers are serious in putting the students' capacity for responsibility for their own learning at or very near the top of their list of priorities. The structure of the school differs from that of other middle and secondary schools in its use of self-contained classrooms, arrangements for the choice and timing of non-academic subjects, and scheduling of the class day. Schoolwide expectations for the statement of goals, planning of daily activities, and evaluation of follow-through introduce a common technology which sets a context for the technical work of children and the interaction of teachers and students together.

The meaning of open education as an educational innovation is fairly well articulated at a school level and taken seriously throughout the school. This pattern does not mean consensus on detail, however. Though almost all teachers would argue that they work at creating open education and like it as well, there are significant differences in individual working definitions of goals and practice.

The school is in a kind of precarious middle position as it defines itself as definitely not a traditional "closed" school but also not a "free" school. The middle ground is wide territory and varied understandings of school goals within the school, varied student characteristics and needs, and external political pressures exert influence on movement within that wide area.

Jesse Owens is supported in its distinctiveness by its shared organizational saga of struggle for that distinctiveness. Parts of its historical development confirmed distinctiveness and parts undermined it. Its indigenous, grass roots beginnings in the efforts of a few teachers and then in a proposal conceived and written largely by school staff gave the school a sense of ownership and pride in their efforts which do not come easily where innovations were initiated by central office mandate and enforced by principals. The very skepticism of external audiences has brought the staff together in defense of their common experience of the school's daily effect on children.

But the move to the Rodgers building with its staff changes and new patterns of student recruitment have tended to undermine the distinctiveness of the school. For Jesse Owens being brought under the umbrella of magnet schools was a mixed blessing. This umbrella legitimized the school's special character (though it is still too distinctive for many tastes). But it subjected the school to decisions which were designed for the benefit of the overall movement of students for desegregation rather than for the benefit of the school's internal functioning. And it took away its unique status, making it more difficult for the school to argue its separate case as resources expanded for all magnets through federal funding but then contracted again.

The detailed character of the school which has evolved from its establishment as a distinctive open education school is complex. The school has a form which makes it particularly vulnerable to environmental influences. First, effective conduct of open education requires teachers with understanding and philosophical agreement with at least the outlines of the program. It also requires teachers with rather high levels of social energy and skill and high levels of intellectual vivacity and understanding. They must handle what could be described as a thirty ring circus, as students are constantly in at least potential interaction and as each one evolves his or her own curriculum and develops skills along his or her individual trajectory. It is not surprising that not all teachers at the school meet the demands of this role to an ideal degree.

Second, the school is vulnerable to the resource of students. An adequate level of cognitive skills and of attachment to learning are prerequisites for at least a majority if a pattern such as Owens's is to operate as it was designed to. Since Owens has large numbers of students who can not adequately read directions and have neither the desire nor the organizational skills to initiate and carry through independent work without considerable assistance, it is understandable that the school has difficulty meeting all its cognitive goals.

Third, the school is particularly vulnerable to financial changes. Its pattern is labor intensive for staff. Even if each child carries more of the burden of educative effort than in a traditional classroom, the development of curricula around interests requires an enormous investment of teachers' time. And where children have low skills, this pattern requires a great deal of teacher-student interaction. Thus when federal or local funds for magnet schools are decreased as desegregation settles down to routine, Jesse Owens feels the losses in staffing particularly keenly.

Jesse Owens's formal pattern as an innovation allowed a good deal of opportunity for variation in the behavior of both faculty and students. The self-contained structure isolated teachers and students together. Teachers had considerable freedom to interpret open education as they saw fit--despite the frank comments of the curriculum co-ordinator and the friendly supervisorial visits of the principal. Students' experience thus depended heavily upon the self-contained teacher to whom they were assigned.

Students also had a good deal of latitude to interpret the school's expectations in their own ways. Some teachers were more active in supervising every child than were others, but with thirty children it was not possible for teachers successfully to make demands against the will of all. The more students there were who did not spontaneously follow the general pattern outlined, the easier it was for others disinclined to do so--most often disinclined to serious effort--to go their own way without experiencing intolerable pressure from the teacher to change their ways. Those who did conform with the general pattern and did put forth effort could legitimately develop quite varied educational styles and substantive agendas.

Consequently the faculty at Jesse Owens were able to develop a good deal of unity and solidarity around their attachment to a fairly vaguely defined ideal of open education at the same time that they disagreed on many aspects of the approach and experienced decreasing social interaction. Their interdependence through their concern for the whole educational experience of their students was the primary cause of friction between individuals with different philosophies or skills. Also, the different work loads and different structural conditions of self-contained and specialized-center or laboratory teachers set up structured tensions between those two groups supported by divided informal ties.

The social behavior of Owens's students invites comparison with Adams Avenue. Despite a student body many of whom came from rough neighborhoods, and few of whom had experienced school success, the Owens school developed generally amicable social relationships. Part of that was due to the personal relationships between teachers and students and among students, but more of it was probably due to the classroom activity structure and non-competitive academic reward structure. With respect to curriculum Adams and Owens were in some ways polar opposites. Adams used a preconceived highly structured curriculum for regular classroom work while Owens stressed an evolving integrative curriculum. But the schools were similar in protecting low achievers from public shame and in de-emphasizing competitive assessments of accomplishment. The social life of their students showed noticeable similarities.

The next chapter will show that Mann, with an academically more capable and socially more select student body, experienced many more problems of vandalism and hostility than did these two schools. It also had a pattern of public display of academic performance and highly competitive academic rewards.

POSTSCRIPT

I gave a late draft of this chapter to Mr. Osten at Jesse Owens for comment in November 1981, one and a half years after I finished field work at the school. After he read it, he asked me to see him to hear of several changes at the school which made parts of this description no longer current.

Probably the most important of these changes were several in curriculum. In the 1980-1981 school year all the teachers were placed on curriculum committees dealing with the areas of reading, writing, thinking, math, theme/research, and human relations. Each committee came up with recommendations for curriculum in that area. Over the summer these recommendations were put together and transformed into a curriculum for the whole school to follow. A schedule was worked out for teachers to deal with particular skills in each area during six week blocks which covered the year. An attempt was made to pick skills with some coherence across areas. Teachers were then asked to write out how they were teaching those skills and to turn these plans in to the curriculum co-ordinator.

Teachers were also told to give small group instruction in reading and math skills to all children. The school program in mathematics was replaced with the textbooks which have been adopted for the system as a whole.

At the same time several systemwide initiatives are having or will have a similar effect. By board action every eighth grader reading below grade level is to have reading intervention instruction every day. Also by board action eighth graders must pass competency tests in reading and math. And they should prepare for ninth grade competency tests in writing skills. Starting in 1982-1983, Owens and all other middle schools will use a single board adopted series of reading texts.

In the fall of 1981 the central administration acted further on the spirit of board actions with the middle schools in announcing a stress on "effective instruction", which in local parlance follows the highly structured patterns laid down by Ronald Edmonds, and teacher accountability. Principals have been asked to commit curricula for each school to writing and to turn in plans for school improvement.

Mr. Osten pointed out that he had taken steps in these directions in 1980-1981, a year ahead of the requests for middle schools. These changes are, of course, significant ones for a school like Owens. There is no question that they move the school through the middle ground between free schools and closed schools much closer to closed schools than it was. Mr. Osten said he felt much more comfortable about the school's political future now as it is more in conformity with general district policy. But he also said that the school has gone about as far as it can go and still retain its distinctive approach and identity.

He was frank that test scores have been a major concern. He expects improvement as students have considerably more experience with testing now, and as they are given instruction in skills chosen to be consistent with those tested in the citywide standard testing program.

Mr. Osten also wanted to make clear that there have been changes in the administration of the school. The school now has almost the time schedule adopted by all schools in the conversion to middle schools. This schedule gives teachers a common preparation hour before students arrive during which they are free to meet in any combination. The Owens faculty now meets as a whole staff once a week, in the curriculum committees already referred to, in "composite committees" dealing with schoolwide issues, and in support groups as before. There is thus much more formal opportunity for discussion than before. And the school is also in greater conformity with other schools in its use of time for instruction and teachers' preparation.

My lengthy conversation with Mr. Osten suggested that the analysis in the foregoing chapter--which has been changed only in minor editing from the draft he read--caught trends which have grown considerably in the ensuing year and a half. Test scores and recruitment are major issues. Resources continue to dwindle as the assistant principal is now shared with Adams Avenue. The administrative supervisor had come shortly before my visit for a detailed discussion of staffing which would make it possible to establish a more exact cost analysis of the school in comparison to others.

Further, the distinctiveness of the school had become an increasing liability. The changes which have taken place in a year and a half make the school more like others. Thus math and reading texts are being introduced. An overall curricular plan is being imposed on each classroom. "Small group instruction" is being required in all classrooms.[17] Mr. Osten picked out as historical the paragraph in this chapter in which I argue that teachers mentally rank students in terms of their capacity to direct their own learning rather than in terms of their mastery of academic skills. He said he thought they would now think more in terms of skills. These changes are major alterations close to the heart of the school's curricular approach.

It is possible to analyze the changes as flowing from a recognition that progress in basic skills for children whose achievements were meager was the weak point of the school--demonstrated both by test scores and the comments of the more traditional newer teachers and several black teachers. It is possible to analyze the changes as a response to pressures on the part of the board for improvement of test scores throughout the city. Or the changes could stem from pressure for greater curricular standardization on the part of the central office now that the political purposes of diversity loom less large. Probably all of these pressures play some part and their share in causing the changes is very difficult to measure.

It is also worth noting that Mr. Osten stated very clearly, though for the most part indirectly, that he was taking a great deal of personal initiative in moving the school in the directions in which it is changing. Despite the increased use of faculty committees, he pointed out that they are advisory to him and he makes final decisions. Teachers are being required to make substantial alterations in their curricular approaches and to turn in written statements of their detailed handling of these changes.

It seems that as the principal at Adams took a more hierarchical role than previously when asked to preside over the imposition of a special program, Mr. Osten is taking a much more hierarchical role than before as he feels pushed from above to preside over the modification of Owens's special program. It would be my expectation that this change in role and its commanding character will create severe strains in Mr. Osten's relationship with the teachers just as it did for Mrs. Michaels. And indeed I got a glimpse of this process about a month before my visit with Mr. Osten when I met one of the teachers in a context removed from the school. The teacher seemed eager to talk about the school. She told of many changes consistent with the principal's portrait. Although this teacher was independently moving toward greater curricular structure and academic demands and had found ventures into small group instruction a great time-saver, she still spoke of the imposition of the new curriculum critically. This one conversation is slim evidence indeed, but it suggests that even teachers comfortable with the general thrust toward more structure and demand for work on skills may be uncomfortable with more hierarchical relations between teachers and principal and more edicts from above.

In any case, the changes at Owens clearly confirm the vulnerability of the magnet schools to pressures from the system as a whole. Their internal organizational characters must be understood in the context of these external pressures.

NOTES

[1] When I interviewed curriculum supervisors and administrators at the central office, they spoke of Owens's problems with receiving predominantly low achievers and large numbers of children who were escaping from some kind of difficulty in traditional classrooms as existing from its inception. I am inclined to believe the teachers on this issue since they were closer to the situation. It may be that large proportions of the students were escaping from problems in traditional classrooms in the early days, but that they had average and above average abilities or past achievements, so that these problems fell away more easily under the influence of open education.

[2] In this case Adams had a parallel problem, since they had already implemented all but a few features of the planned program.

[3] It is possible that some white families were reluctant to have their children travel into this neighborhood. Elementary schools in worse neighborhoods did not have trouble drawing whites, but middle school children traveled

by city bus rather than the yellow buses provided for elementary school children. In waiting at city bus stops middle school students were more exposed to the neighborhood than were elementary children who went only a few steps from yellow buses to the school door and back again.

[4] Elementary schools continued to serve the sixth grade and neighborhood middle schools had only seventh and eighth grades. Thus students attending the sixth grade in citywide schools had to be interested enough to miss their last year of elementary school.

[5] Nor were they articulately conscious of the nature of the changes after experience there. When some of those who were surprised by the school answered the later questions about siblings with a statement that one had gone to the school, I asked whether the brother or sister hadn't told them about it. (I was assuming that he or she had experienced the same program). The students simply said the siblings had not told them about the things which surprised them.

[6] For a discussion of similar patterns, and their significance, see Schofield (1980).

[7] Grade level and age were not significant differentiating variables in any of the classes. It was not uncommon to hear one student ask another well along in the year what grade he or she was in. And when I asked teachers what grade certain individuals were in many had to consult their roster to answer the question, for at least some children. When I asked how many sixth graders were in the class, virtually every teacher had to.

[8] In a few classrooms where teachers were unskilled in settling students into effort or at least quiet coexistence, students complained the room was too noisy to work and spent much time in the library on work they could have done in their rooms.

[9] I am grateful to Greg Gosetti for performing this work, while he was my project assistant under funding from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He also coded the interview protocols preparing them for the numerical tabulations of responses reported.

[10] The principal told of receiving many applications in midyear from such students. Their applications were often supported by calls from psychiatrists, other helping professionals, or persons at their current school.

[11] Many finished elementary school in their old schools and were at Jesse Owens for only one year. Ambiguity is also added by the unavailability of fifth grade scores for ten more students in the fifth than the seventh grade.

[12] I requested the data for the cohort comparisons from the testing office for research purposes. They have not been made public until this writing nor to my knowledge have they been available to the school. Therefore, the longitudinal data are not part of the political picture, at least publicly. However, I was able to get the fifth grade scores for the students at Jesse Owens as a group because the testing office has programmed the computer to do just this kind of longitudinal comparison in schools where children enter from scattered other schools. Thus central office administrators have access to this kind of information and may have actually called upon it.

[13] When the principal, Mr. Osten, read this part of the manuscript he questioned its accuracy, saying he did not find the split between self-contained and specialized-center teachers to be serious. And if anything at present (a year and a half after the study) he thought tension between the self-contained teachers and the teachers in the academic support centers was higher--also over issues of work load. These criticisms support the importance of the structural character of the cleavage. At the time of the study, the academic support center teachers were seen as persons offering assistance to the self-contained teachers by reducing their numbers and by working with students who needed the most direct help. But they also had a different task from the self-contained teachers and could be criticized out of the same uneasiness over work load in the self-contained classrooms.

[14] Compare Gertrude McPherson's discussion (1972) of the cultural barriers to such discussion in an elementary school where teachers did physically gather together.

[15] With one or two exceptions the principal was careful not to speak critically of individual teachers to me. He also picked only a few out for special praise. I thus can not be sure that those who spoke less warmly of him were in fact subject to criticism.

[16] There is some ambiguity in the referent of the term "principal" at Mann. This general argument refers to both administrators in part, but especially to Mr. Mueller, Administrator in Charge of the middle school.

[17] When I attempted to summarize what Mr. Osten would like noted as changes since this chapter was written I mentioned "direct instruction". He corrected me to say "small group instruction". I asked what the difference was, and he explained that open education is based on indirect instruction, and he therefore thinks small group instruction a more appropriate term for what they do.

Chapter Six

Horace Mann Middle School for the Gifted and Talented

The Horace Mann Middle School for the Gifted and Talented was different from Adams Avenue and Jesse Owens in several ways. First, it was the only school which had any power to select its students. All children were not only volunteers, but were recommended by their elementary school teachers. The school was generally oversubscribed and the screening committee could exercise some judgment in admissions out of those students whose parents and teachers had recommended that they enter.

Horace Mann was also the only school started primarily from the initiative of parents. And Horace Mann was the only one of the schools which had to share its facilities with a different school, so that the Horace Mann School was two schools with two staffs and two student bodies mingled together under one principal.

Finally, as a school for the gifted and talented, Horace Mann's specialty was primarily defined by the character of its students rather than by unusual goals or a special teaching approach. All of these characteristics were important in shaping the school's distinctive character and the process of its evolution.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL

The middle school for the gifted and talented was formed from the efforts of the parents who were recruited to the Peach Street Elementary School for the Gifted and Talented in the first year of desegregation. Peach Street originally served fourth through sixth graders, later third through fifth graders. It was unusual even among the magnet schools, and from the beginning it was given special treatment. Its children were selected by teacher nomination. Parents' willingness to volunteer the children was not left to chance in the first year. Teacher nominations were divided into categories by race and sex and ordered according to qualification, and central office personnel and teachers called the parents to tell them their child had been nominated and invite them to visit the school.

When the court imposed a compromise in the initial conflict between the union and the administration over whether the magnets would be staffed by teachers already in the structures which housed them (and by seniority among applicants for openings) or by administrative choice, it endorsed the union's approach but allowed the administration a small number of "superintendent's choices", slots that could be filled at its pleasure. Peach Street was a small school housing only nine classes. Fully six of those were filled by "superintendent's choice". The teachers in the building who could have stayed decided not to and central office personnel were eventually able to handpick eight of the nine teachers in the magnet program.

The school was located in an old building in the central city, but close to downtown. It was partially surrounded by industry but partially by a low income black area. The building was structurally sound but drab and infested with rats and mice and in poor repair. Community efforts to get the school system to clear it of its unwanted inhabitants had been unsuccessful. When the school was closed as a neighborhood school, not only was it thoroughly fumigated, it was beautifully refurbished. Walls were painted in bright colors, floors were tiled; the main office was carpeted and hung with heavy drapes. The high ceilings and elegant Victorian lines of the late nineteenth century building emerged in their full elegance. The stained glass window in the gymnasium was cleaned and the asphalt outside the front door was even painted green.[1]

The school was clearly designed to be a showpiece. Its physical attractiveness and handpicked staffing were not matched in any of the other schools at the outset. A few were also given considerable physical improvements and artistic painting in following years, and one other, a school for the creative arts, was also staffed with much special selection. These two schools, Peach Street and the Tenth Avenue School for the Creative Arts, attracted the highest proportion of middle class children and produced the highest test scores of the elementary magnet schools.

The Decision to Start the Gifted and Talented Middle School at Atlantic Avenue

The parents of the sixth graders at Peach Street hoped to continue their children's special experience there into their middle school years. Since there were only two citywide middle schools in the first year of desegregation, they had a good argument for the establishment of another for the second year of desegregation. With the assistance of Mr. Linski, a supervisor of elementary education in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the central office, they went looking for a middle school which might become the middle school for the gifted and talented. They settled on Atlantic Avenue Junior High School.

As the parents tell it, there were several reasons why they settled on that school. Because they were aware that most of the magnets had displaced black children from the neighborhoods of the schools converted, and that this was hard on both the individual children and the fabric of the community, they chose a school with a declining population which had often been considered for closing. Second, they observed the school in operation and thought the staff to be a promising group. (By this point, the court compromise and the spring teachers' strike had made it clear there would probably be no more "superintendent's choices." The middle school would take the faculty with the building.) And finally, the building was on the edge of downtown. It could be reached from most of the city on public buses by middle school children who would not be yellow bused and it provided easy access to the artistic and civic resources of the downtown area.

The parents took their proposal to the school board who were readily willing to approve it. They agreed to let the middle school have the use of the facility for two years, and then the program and location would be reevaluated. The first year, starting in the fall of 1977, would be a time for phasing in the program. The school would house 70 seventh graders in the gifted and talented program, most of whom would come from Peach Street, while the current seventh graders from the neighborhood would remain to complete the eighth grade.

The program was run as planned in 1977-1978 with seventy seventh graders in the gifted and talented program and local children in the eighth grade. For 1978-1979 Peach Street was altered to serve the third through fifth grades. Children were recruited for Atlantic's second year from other schools as well with the intention of building a student body of 450 sixth through eighth graders in the fall of 1978, half of whom would come from Peach Street and half from elsewhere.

The Decision to Move the School to Horace Mann

In the summer of 1978 there was a jolt to the program. The city council took out a full page newspaper advertisement early in the spring asking why school costs continued to rise, though enrollment was declining. The newly elected president of the school board took this public chastisement to heart and vowed that the school board would save one million by closing schools in the fall of 1978. The process was slow, and in early summer a set of schools were chosen. These included several black elementary schools, two white neighborhood elementary schools and a black high school. Only a few individuals came forward to speak for the black neighborhood schools, but the communities of the white schools organized an active opposition, and the community of the black high school--galvanized by the disappointments of desegregation and the leadership of a gifted orator and experienced political activist--rose in stirring protest. In the last week of July it became clear to the president of the board that some members were weakening in their resolve to close the protested schools. There were many conferences on the telephone among board members that week in an attempt to put together a roster of schools to be closed. At the meeting of August 1st on close votes the white elementary schools and the black high school were given a one year reprieve.

The head of the board's finance committee then moved at 11:45 PM that the middle school for the gifted and talented be transferred to the Horace Mann High School, to be housed there in combination with the new high school for the college bound. His motion included a similar transfer of a magnet elementary school in the downtown area into a new building where it would be combined with the magnet elementary program planned for that facility. After a half hour of discussion, at 12:15 AM August 2, 1978 the board had voted to make both transfers fact. There had been no previous public mention of the possibility of moving either school.

The next day some of the more active members of the Atlantic Avenue parent body were in contact with the press in active protest. Before the sun had set one parent had filed a law suit charging that the action was taken illegally because the meeting agenda had made no mention of the possibility of closing Atlantic Avenue School and moving the program. He claimed that for the school board to act without such notice violated the state open meetings law. Parents held two public meetings which were well attended and organized a steering committee who intensely lobbied the board and who got good coverage, especially in the electronic media, of the hearings on the suit and of a news conference which questioned whether the costs involved in the move would not offset the savings. They were joined in all these activities by the parents from the elementary school with which they had no previous ties.

The judge issued a restraining order which prevented actual packing and moving from taking place. The matter stretched on for two weeks while several board members attended a national conference for school board members at an eastern resort and then traveled slowly back to the midwest. When all were reassembled, they convened a public hearing on the two schools and then voted with due notice to reaffirm their earlier action.

The reasons for the board's move seem to have been complex.[2] Internal politics and enmity between the board and administration played a part, as did the apparent likelihood that a hospital in the neighborhood would buy the Atlantic site rather promptly. Some liberal and black board members argued that families in magnet schools should share the burdens the system had to mete out as a matter of equity. But the most important influence appeared to be the fact that the Horace Mann high school and the Twelfth Avenue Elementary School, to which the other schools was transferred, presented embarrassments. Horace Mann had just been expensively remodeled for the new college bound program and even more modifications were planned. The Twelfth Avenue building was brand new. Neither was even half full and both had drawn much larger numbers of black applicants than white. By moving the existing magnet programs into them, they could be instantly desegregated, or nearly so, their expensive buildings filled, and other buildings vacated. The board expected that neither set of parents would protest since they were both already expecting to be bused.

Many Horace Mann parents did object, however, and very strongly. There seemed to be several reasons. The one given the most attention was the span of ages from sixth grade to twelfth grade. The board had just phased out the last of its six year high schools on the principle that the high school students exerted a bad influence on the younger students. Now it was opening a seven year school. Parents of sixth graders, especially, were apprehensive. Second, both children and parents were psychologically set for school at the Atlantic building and this sudden change was simply disorienting. The new students had visited the school and met the staff. Now they were to be in a different and much larger school with high school students above them. The principal of the middle school, whom most parents liked, was not to accompany the program. The principal who had planned the high school would instead be principal for both programs. Parents did not know how he understood gifted and talented education and had no established relationship with him.

Finally, the school would no longer be near downtown cultural and business centers with their educational opportunities, nor would it be near multiple bus lines. The new school was located on the East Side of the city well into the solidly black sector. It was thus both psychologically and physically removed from white families' homes, especially for those who lived on the West Side of the city. Only one bus line served it; so that many transfers would be necessary.

The Opening of Mann Middle School

In an attempt to meet some of these objections, the administration promised yellow bus service and separate bell schedules and bath rooms for the high school and middle school. It transferred an assistant principal, Mr. Mueller, who had formerly served in a South Side high school where he was popular with parents to the Horace Mann site with the understanding that he would have special responsibility for the middle school.

The board's late decision, compounded by the parents' suit left little time for the logistical arrangements necessary to open the new school. Materials could not be boxed and transferred until after the board had reconvened and the court consequently had lifted its restraining order. There were then about two weeks left before school. The process of calling teachers to pack was apparently haphazard, as was the packing process. Many supplies were never boxed and so not transferred and many boxes were not labeled. Materials which were delivered to the new building were simply stacked in large spaces such as the area behind the grandstand in the gymnasium. It was thus very difficult for teachers to find essential materials if they were brought over at all. Boxes were arriving by van each day well into October. To complicate the matter yet further, the union held that it was not teachers' responsibility to unpack and told teachers to refuse to do so. Many did refuse.

The principal and his assistants, who had not worked together before, found themselves with the task of opening two new schools simultaneously in one building with almost no time to prepare. Such matters as programming schedule--especially with staggered bell schedules which created overlapping time periods for use of rooms--were major tasks.

Mr. Mueller, the assistant principal chosen because he had previously had good relations with South Side parents, was given this programming task. Inexperienced in both scheduling and the language of the computer, he did not do it right. Teachers faced classes varying from five to fifty-five while children had courses they had not asked for and were not assigned to basic core subjects for their grade or to electives they had asked for. It was several weeks before the tangles were undone by hand programming the whole school.

Both teachers and parents became angry at the administration, while the administration considered both groups ungracious and unwilling to be helpful or at least forbearing. In short, the snarling of scheduling, logistics, and supplies which were predictable effects of opening two new schools in one building on a month's notice with two weeks of actual preparation rubbed the nerves of every one concerned. It seemed each group responded with anger and blame toward others.

The parents transferred their anger at the board and their anxiety over the sudden disruption to the staff of the school. They became hypercritical and omnipresent--or enough of them did to make a marked impression on both the administration and teachers. The parent who had instigated the law suit continued with it, arguing that the board had indeed broken a law and should pay individual penalties. He sought to prove that the ability of the school to offer gifted and talented education to the students had been impaired. To this end he talked to teachers, seeking support for his allegations. He was present in the building a good deal, on at least one occasion bringing television cameras with him to document that some of the stacked boxes presented a fire hazard.

In addition, in the move some children dropped out and others had to be added to build the full complement. Recruitment was hasty and often children were taken with only their parents' affirmation that they were gifted or talented. Some of these children, especially in the 8th grade, did not have the skills necessary for the program and became involved in activities which made them repeated subjects for discipline. It is not an exaggeration, then, to say that the move to Mann was a traumatic event for the school.

I studied the school in 1979-1980, the second year it was in the Mann building. I came once a week in the fall, concentrating on the sixth grade while those students were adjusting to their new school and while I was spending most of my time at Owens. In the spring I concentrated on Mann and particularly on the seventh and eighth grades. By then the worst immediate effects of the move had passed. But its longer lasting effects, especially those inherent in sharing the building and administration with the high school, remained.

A SCHOOL WITHIN A SCHOOL

As the first school year started the task facing the principal of Horace Mann, Dr. Joliet, was awesome. Until August 1 he had expected to have the challenging enough job of forging the high school program into one which would rapidly gain a positive reputation. The faculty were mostly new to the building and unknown to him or to each other. He had been unable directly to select them, though he had asked that all be required to have a master's degree thus disqualifying most of the teachers formerly in the building. He had also created positions with some unusual combinations of subject specialties, ones possessed by teachers he hoped to have join him. But for this strategy he had to pay the price of a union grievance.

Recruitment for the high school had been small and the student body was too heavily black to meet desegregation guidelines without the middle school. Also the skills of the students recruited were not outstanding. (In the second year of the program the standardized test scores for tenth graders covered a wide range with the median at the 63rd percentile on a national scale.) Given the fact that new schools quickly develop reputations and that the high school was starting with a less than ideal student body for its mission, Dr. Joliet and the high school teachers had their work cut out for them in establishing a distinctive and attractive high school program in the first year.

A single month before school opened, a second separate program was added to the school. Further, because of the court-imposed freeze on action to move the middle school, no visible planning or arrangements could be made for merging the two schools until two weeks before opening day. Not only did this second and different school enter the social and physical space of the high school, but with it came a set of articulate, demanding, and disgruntled parents and a faculty who felt misused and displaced at being moved out of their accustomed building.

Because of the press of time for logistical arrangements and the large number of interested parties who clamored for attention to their problems, there was more for the administrators to attend to than they could manage if they gave every one a full and gracious ear for their concerns. Thus the administrators started out with a style of hierarchical order giving with limited opportunity for discussion or debate. Logistical arrangements were routinized and teachers and parents had little appeal if they did not like them. (Though in fact parents, at least, demanded time to be heard and were given a good deal of it individually and in groups through the first year.) For the middle school staff many of these arrangements were particularly troublesome because they were used to a more informal style of administration and of practical arrangements such as the dispensation of supplies.

Thus the situation at Mann was similar to that at the beginning of the IGE alternative program at Adams--except much more extreme. In both cases the principals were responsible for creating instant distinctiveness and instant superior quality while under the floodlight of attention from parents, the central office, and the press. At Mann the situation was more extreme because there were two not totally compatible programs to be started with a single building and administration and because the parents and teachers in the middle school were present under protest. At Mann, even more than at Adams, the response to these pressures was to emphasize the formal bureaucratic positions, relationships, and processes in the school which ordinarily exist in name but are to some degree disregarded in practice. Dr. Joliet ran the school with the full use of his office, with a formal personal style, and with formal bureaucratic procedures for activities that are often informally handled.

With two programs in the building it was inevitable that they would inconvenience one another--especially with the staggered bell schedule imposed by the central office to protect the younger children, which made rooms unavailable to one school for two periods if the other school were using them for only one period. (This bell schedule was dropped in the second year.) Further, it was inevitable that decisions for priorities would have to be made and that one school would, by decision or default, receive more favor than the other. In the eyes of the middle school staff, at least, favor fell clearly on the side of the high school--though some teachers did acknowledge that the high school also suffered tangible inconveniences from the middle school's presence.

High schools are generally considered more important and given more resources in Heartland and elsewhere than are schools for younger children. Dr. Joliet had planned the High School for the College Bound both in its architectural design and its curricular form. It was his creation and it would have been surprising if he had not favored its needs where the two programs came into direct competition. Finally at least by the end of the first year, if not earlier, there was open discussion of moving the middle school out again to some unnamed site, so that the high school was the permanent resident of the building while the middle school simply perched there in transition--or so it seemed.

Only a few of the middle school teachers acknowledged this set of pressures upon the school administration or saw their own experience in this light, however. For the most part they simply experienced a second class status in the total school and felt belittled by the formality of procedures and the lack of opportunity to state their practical and less tangible needs as individual teachers. In interviews they told of many ways in which they felt their program was made marginal and their ability to do their jobs was hampered.

Use of Facilities and Supplies

With two programs in the school there were now two sets of students competing for special rooms for certain subjects. Though the school board had argued that the move would help the middle school by making available far better facilities than at the aging Atlantic building constructed for junior high school students, in fact teachers found their facilities were no better or worse than before.

When the science labs were not ready for occupancy in the first fall, Dr. Joliet gave rooms with running water to high school science classes and language arts rooms to middle school ones. When the science labs were ready in the spring, the high school science classes moved there while the middle school science classes were permanently assigned to rooms only some of which had running water and none of which had adequate room for storage or experiments. Facilities for art, music, and shop were difficult to work in according to middle school teachers. A few classes did have access to high school facilities on a shared basis. Extracurricular activities were affected as well, since special spaces such as the gymnasium had to be shared. The high school basketball team, involving twenty students, took precedence over the intramural sports program open to all middle school students.

Some of the issues which made the middle school faculty feel unwelcome or misused were not entirely matters of sharing the facility, but matters of the distinctive manner in which the overall school was run. A major difficulty concerned the principal's policy of giving out supplies only in small amounts, by requisition, and with a few days lead time. This policy created serious practical problems since it is not easy to predict several days in advance needs for paper, staples, or paste. It was particularly hard on teachers in subjects where large amounts of materials are needed. But perhaps more important, it suggested an attack upon teachers' professional status.

One woman teacher who had favored the move because she expected it to make available more advanced facilities and at least a glimpse of higher level work for her students expressed her disappointment and hurt upon arrival at Horace Mann:

> But then after we got here and were received the way we were, those hopes were really dashed. We were treated as though we were stepchildren. It was like coming into an established family and not belonging. Well I shouldn't say it was an established family because many of the high school staff were new too. But that was the group which the building seemed to belong to and we were extra and we were made to feel extremely inferior. For example we were told that we should have the rooms ready and appealing for the students. We should have bulletin boards up and the rooms decorated but there was no construction paper. Anything we wanted to get we had to go to the office and if there wasn't enough, we didn't get it. At Atlantic we had a central supply room and we could go and get whatever we needed. But this ship was run

> differently and you almost had to beg to get a sheet of paper and if you wanted a ditto master you'd go and ask for them and they'd give you two. Or if you needed staples and you'd go and ask and they'd give you one row of staples. I think the office staff were just used to working that way. I don't think they intended to hurt anybody's feelings but it made you feel as though if they gave you more than that you were going to steal it, or take it home, sell it or something.

Another teacher, one with an elementary school background unusual at Mann, who brought a certain distance to her analysis of its problems, mentioned the same issue when asked whether she could identify the early sources of the anger which seemed to be pervasive among the staff. She pointed out the practical as well as symbolic problems involved:

> I think if you start out griping, which we did, it tends to start that kind of thing. We had all those problems with materials. You had to fill out a workorder to get a roll of scotch tape. Literally, you would be in the middle of trying to put something together and you'd need some scotch tape and you had to get a supply list and write out what you needed and put the role of scotch tape on it. And then in two days you might get your scotch tape. Well, if you've got something to put together and you need scotch tape you need it right then. And most of us were used to having an open supply room where you could just go and get that but if you have a very large school like a secondary school that's hard to do.

During the first year there were several incidents in which middle school faculty wanted to use high school rooms when the high school was not using them. Each use was strictly forbidden by the administration. A teacher who took her class across the hall to use typewriters which stood idle was roundly chastized. Another teacher worked out an agreement with a high school teacher in the same field to switch classes between neighboring rooms as each needed access to special equipment available only in one. He was turned down when he asked for a key to the second room and told each teacher was to stay in the assigned room.

To the middle school teachers these decisions seemed to come from Dr. Joliet's prepossession with security and with economical use of supplies. They may also have reflected a desire to keep clear the high school's right to equipment purchased for the high school. In its first year it had full classes only in the ninth and tenth grades and a small eleventh grade. Thus there was every reason to expect that it would expand and make fuller use of its rooms and equipment in future years. However, Dr. Joliet never gave such explanations, middle school teachers were simply told that what seemed to them reasonable requests for use of available facilities were denied.

Few teachers complained about the very small amount of aide time allocated to help in the classroom and the large amount allocated to attendance and hallway supervision, though this practice stood in striking contrast to the other two middle schools I had seen. Two teachers with backgrounds in high school teaching mentioned the good order in the school and the--to them--relative lack of staff time used in custodial supervision. The lack of aide time available for helping teachers and students thus may have been a very direct reflection of the high school-middle school combination.

The Administrative Structure of the School

Even more important than the inaccessibility of facilities and supplies for the middle school in the eyes of the majority of teachers and active parents was its placement in the administrative structure of the school. This issue dominated most teachers' discussion of the school's situation and it was an important theme among parents as well--though partly as a reflection of what they heard from teachers.

Division of administrative responsibility. It is a clear rule of Heartland's central office that there shall be only one principal in a school building. The principal for both schools was Dr. Joliet who had been appointed as principal for the high school. Under him were two assistant principals one of whom, Mr. Mueller, was expected to have special responsibility for the middle school. However, in the first year Dr. Joliet was clearly the principal of both schools and Mr. Mueller was an assistant principal who took on tasks as they were delegated. These tasks included the very large responsibility of all scheduling and other computer recording for both schools, as well as discipline for the middle school, a large task in the first year.

In the second year, partly at the request of parents, a separate middle school office was established and Mr. Mueller, though still an assistant principal, was made Administrator in Charge of the middle school. Dr. Joliet withdrew from its day to day affairs. Some of the administrative confusion was reduced, and a lighter load of discipline freed some of Mr. Mueller's time.

But the presence of two schools in one still created serious administrative deficiencies and complexities. First, if one considers the middle school alone as a unit, it had only one administrator, not one and four fifths as did Adams or two as did Owens. Yet with 450 students, it had the largest student body. Thus as administrator in charge, Mr. Mueller had to cover most of the usual tasks of both the principal and the assistant principal.

Dr. Joliet dealt with the budget. The second assistant principal in the building had responsibility for busing for all children; so the middle school administration had little to do in this fairly time-consuming area. The other assistant principal also occasionally would discipline a middle school child if Mr. Mueller were unavailable or wanted a second influence on the child.

But, Mr. Mueller also had to be the highest person in charge in the building at large if Dr. Joliet were out of the building. And he was responsible for programming and IBM record keeping for all students in the building, just under 1000. The latter task was considerably more difficult than programming a single school containing the same number of students because there were seven grade levels, all with different courses. And within the high school there were three separate programs.

On balance, then, the middle school probably received slightly less than the efforts of one full time administrator. Further, even though Mr. Mueller was formally in charge and parents and teachers were to take all concerns to him, he was still subject to the formal authority of the principal. This authority was more than pro forma. It seemed to happen more than once that Dr. Joliet would reverse decisions made by Mr. Mueller. But because Mr. Mueller sought to offer a solid administrative front, he never gave the source of the swings and reversals in policy which emerged from time to time. Rather than protecting Dr. Joliet's image in the faculty's eyes, this practice tended to belittle Mr. Mueller's.

Finally, this administrative arrangement disadvantaged the school in its relations with the district as a whole. When the gifted and talented middle school was merged with the high school, it was removed from the list of middle/junior high schools because it was in a high school building. As a consequence some notices sent from various parts of the school system to all middle schools were not sent to Horace Mann. Children and teachers did not learn of various citywide opportunities and the school was delinquent in meeting a few obligations because it did not receive notices from offices which forgot to restore the school's name when communicating with middle schools. Only the principal went to monthly secondary principals' meetings. When it came time to separate according to the level of the schools, he went to the meeting of senior high school principals and no one represented Horace Mann at the middle/junior high school meeting where various events or requests were announced--though there were generally written memos to compensate for what the school had missed. Informal conversations or connections which grow up in such contexts could not be replaced, however. In the second year, most of these problems were resolved in response to the school's requests. The school was restored to normal middle school communications and by the middle of the year a representative went to the middle school portion of secondary principals' meetings.

school was thus also deprived of the informal conversations and connections which can grow up in such contexts.

There had been talk of moving the middle school out to another school during the first year of the program. That spring, the central administration asked the parents to constitute a committee and recommend criteria for a site for a permanent home. I observed the meetings of that committee in the fall of 1979, the second fall in the Mann building. At the end of the committee's deliberations, it became clear that there was a conflict within the central administration over the site, and probably over the principalship which several persons were hoping to receive. Central administrators at different levels sent conflicting messages to the committee concerning recommendation of a specific site. Partly under the influence of one central administrator's message to the committee, the parents declined to name a site on the grounds that it was not in their original charge and out of a fear of being placed in the "bad guy" position of recommending closing a black school while the central administrators were cleared of that onus. Angry accusations were made on all sides and no recommendation to move the school was brought to the board. (Partly as a result of the anger over the August closings of Atlantic and the magnet elementary school in 1978, the school board has since had a formal process every fall leading up to decisions on school closings early in January.)

Nonetheless, because of this process, the expectation that the middle school's placement at Mann would be temporary was clear in every one's mind. Both faculty and administrators looked on the current situation as transitional and looked forward to a separation of the schools. However, though another parent committee recommended four possible sites in the fall of 1980, the board did not take action. The issue was considered again by a broader committee in the fall of 1981. Its recommendations for a site in a white middle school were not accepted by the board's finance and facilities committee, which brought no recommendation for change at Mann to the board. In a surprise move the full board voted to move the school to one of the black middle schools long discussed as a possible site, which is four blocks from Peach Street. The new location of the school was printed with the announcement of programs for 1982-1983. Students signed up for the fall of 1982 at the new school. But as I draft the final version of this chapter in late February 1982, the board has rescinded its action in the light of protest to the court monitoring board by neighborhood parents and an attorney active in the resistance to closing East High School to its neighborhood. They argued that black children in the neighborhood, most of whom are not eligible for the gifted and talented program, will bear the full burden of this move. Thus, 1982-1983 will be the fifth year for the high school and middle school in the Mann building.[3]

The perceived temporary character of the middle school's placement at Mann--false though it proved to be--had an important impact on its administration. Dr. Joliet spoke openly with me in the spring of the study year of looking forward to the high school's having its building to itself again and to the completion of the architectural remodeling he had planned. He gave the middle school more autonomy under Mr. Mueller in that year because he did not expect to have a continuing connection with it. The teachers in turn did not expect to remain with either Dr. Joliet or Mr. Mueller as an administrator and so they had little perceived stake in pleasing them with the quality of their work or winning their favor. Several teachers, particularly men from Atlantic Avenue, said explicitly that they were regarding this time simply as a holding operation until the school could get its own building and its own administrator.

Administrative definitions of the gifted and talented program. The administrative structure of the school had a very direct impact on the definition of its program, a topic to be discussed at length in the next section. For the moment it is important that Mr. Mueller (and the teachers with him) were responsible in two administrative directions. Formally they were responsible to Dr. Joliet. In a strict administrative sense Dr. Joliet was at the head of the program. But he was responsible for the school for the college bound, which was avowedly designed for accelerated traditional education with the most academically able students available. Though he recognized that the middle school had some different purposes, he naturally stressed the points of similarity in the two programs. The common time schedule and use of space had an assimilating effect as well.

However, the middle school was also responsible, though not directly and administratively, to the persons in the central office's Division of Curriculum and Instruction who had conceived the gifted and talented program as an entity running from the third grade through the eighth. Their conception of the program emphasized enrichment above acceleration and assumed that the children included in it would have a wide range of talents, not all of them academic.

These two visions of gifted and talented education carry quite distinct implications for action in many specific matters. Mr. Mueller with his responsibility for day to day decisions concerning the program was in a large sense responsible to both these administrative masters. If he were to have any chance of remaining with the program as administrator, and if he were to please the majority of active parents and the system central administrators, he needed to emphasize the enrichment definition of the program. But if he were to please his immediate superior who was formally in charge of the program, he needed to steer it in more traditional academic directions. He was therefore in the situation of reporting informally, though not formally, to two superiors with opposed ideals. He was also in a position of having responsibility for the middle school's direction without the authority to make or enforce his decisions concerning it.

As Dr. Joliet distanced himself from the program, he did not relinquish final authority over it. Mr. Mueller remained an assistant principal despite the title of Administrator in Charge; so the program was without a principal in the sense that other schools had one.

Administrative style: Dr. Joliet. The structure of administration at the school became entwined with the personalities of the two major administrators in such a way that each came to stand for the other in the minds of many teachers. It is not easy to disentangle personalities from the socially structured actions of the administrators even for an analyst, or possibly for the participants themselves. As I have suggested, the requirements to get both programs started simultaneously and operating at all--let alone to make them as distinctive and high in quality as possible essentially on the instant--left little room for discussion, debate, and slow consensus formation. As the person with ultimate accountability for both programs and the person responsible for seeing that day to day operations went as smoothly as possible, Dr. Joliet would have been pushed toward using the full powers of his office and a fairly brisk and peremptory style whether or not he favored such a style for personal reasons.

In his public appearance at least, Dr. Joliet was unapologetic in his hierarchical view of relationships in a school. He spoke to me of running a school as "managing" it. Teachers who were sympathetic or unsympathetic seemed to agree that he conceived his role in strictly hierarchical terms--though some teachers, especially new ones found him so distant in the second year that they had very little sense of what impact if any he had on the middle school program.

One of the women who had an extracurricular responsibility which gave her more than usual contact with him described him in these terms:

> I feel for our type of school he is extremely structured. But see I dig that stuff. I like a structured principal or person in authority. I like his straightforwardness and I like his organization and I like the fact that he does what he says he is going to do. I really like the way he runs the ship so to speak. Though I do feel that our school needs a little less structure, but of course he's not all that affiliated with our school.

This description caught the qualities which several teachers admired in him. Another teacher who had known him at Clemens, his previous school on the West Side, amplified this description.

> I think he's the most efficient administrator I've ever run across which is one of the main reasons I really like him. If he says he is going to do something, it's done and you don't have to worry

> whether it's going to be done or not. If you go and you want something and you present it to him logically and you say, "This is what I would like and this is why," he is usually very open. I've never had a problem with him. He seems to appreciate people who do a good job and if you go in there with a suggestion or a request or something and he trusts you, he will usually help you get what you want if it is a valid request.
>
> I think he's had problems with some people and I know he had problems with people immediately at Clemens because he really wants a sound educational program and he wants his teachers to work. And there were people there who were showing films three or four times a week. When he started checking up on people and why they weren't working and so on he started to make some enemies. I think sometimes he is difficult to deal with because he is not a real personable man.

A staff member with some responsibilities which required shuttling between teachers and the administration summed up Dr. Joliet's qualities wth a compatible description, but with a sense for their practical shortcomings, especially with a staff which considered itself only temporarily subject to, or dependent upon, him.

> Also Dr. Joliet is not a sociable person. You don't get to know him as an individual, no one really knows him socially. I think he maintains a professional distance. Another way of saying it might be that he's an administrator's administrator. He's someone who other administrators really look up to and want to emulate. But he's not a teacher's administrator. He's not someone that teachers find appealing. He is very organized. I think when he comes in on Monday morning he knows what he's going to be doing every day at 10:10. But he does not assume that people under him will make errors and he doesn't assume that people under him will not do their job. [This was spoken in a voice which implied that one ought to make those assumptions if one is to be realistic].
>
> So by the end of the first year there was a lot of feeling against Dr. Joliet and a lot of people decided "to heck with him," they were just going to do their own thing, and ignore him.

Dr. Joliet's personal manner reflected his hierarchical style. He wore a crew cut and dressed in suits. His manner was courteous but formal. He addressed all teachers by their last name and title. He kept conversations to business matters and kept them brief.

Dr. Joliet's impersonal manner was dramatically underscored when he instituted a policy in the fall of the first year of seeing teachers only by appointment. According to staff whose responsibilities were outside the classroom, he did not adhere strictly to this is some pressing issue came up; it was a general policy designed to lessen the flow of traffic to see him. The policy became legendary. I heard about it at other schools and at the central office.

It is important however that Dr. Joliet established this policy only after the start of the year, after he became aware of the demands his position placed upon him and not as a matter of initial personal inclination. In the year following the study he was promoted to assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction. When I interviewed supervisers in that department who worked with the middle schools at the close of that year, one mentioned how surprised he was after hearing of the appointment policy at Mann to see how affable and open Dr. Joliet appeared to be and to hear him tell a meeting of the staff in curriculum and instruction that his door was open if they wanted to talk with him.

Conflict between Dr. Joliet and the middle school faculty. As at Adams, the principal's assumption of a role which allowed unquestionable one way command generated disaffection among the faculty. His style exacerbated the slights involved in the school's structural position and worked together with policies on supplies and facilities to make the faculty feel their professional dignity was impugned. Also, as at Adams, this disaffection among the faculty was focused and exacerbated by Dr. Joliet's conflict with one teacher who was in this case a leader among the dominant group of the faculty. Conflict between this individual and the principal symbolized the feelings of conflict which were more widely shared. And this individual with his intense negative feelings helped to fuel the fires of others' similar feelings. It was not clear that he took as active a role in rebellion as the leader at Adams; rather as an informal leader, he simply set a tone of relationship which became socially shared and supported especially in his department and team.

It is important to understanding the relationship this individual, Mr. Corski, and his department developed with the principal to consider their position at Atlantic Avenue. The principal there had been relatively easygoing. As one other department member said, he generally left teachers alone as long as they made the school look good. The department to which Mr. Corski belonged had a strong reputation within the school and among central city schools--or at least that was their own understanding of their position. Their teaching was one of the factors which had drawn the original parent committee to the school. And in the first year of the gifted and talented program Mr. Corski and some of the other teachers had put in extra hours working with students and had developed a devoted following. They had high status and with it a degree of autonomy and power within the world of Atlantic Avenue.

They were also a closely knit group. All of them were white men and most were in their thirties; they had all come to Atlantic at the opening of the seventies within a few semesters of each other. They came to be the core group among the Atlantic faculty who were present at Mann. They had particularly strong relations with the other white men from there, though they had social ties and bonds of agreement with some of the white women as well. They experienced a loss in their status as events at Mann unfolded, and they became strongly critical of almost everything about the school, with particular emphasis upon its administration.

In the first year at Mann Mr. Corski, who was already department chairperson and an informal leader in the group as well, was given a partial teaching schedule, a title, and responsibility for setting up aspects of the substance of the middle school program. Although his position was transformed to that of a full-time curriculum co-ordinator Mr. Corski was not appointed curriculum co-ordinator for the second year, according to Dr. Joliet because he maintained a narrow concentration on his own subject and did not work effectively across the spectrum of all subjects for which the curriculum co-ordinator was expected to be resource person and leader. Even after several administrative conferences concerning this weakness, he did not improve and so was not appointed.

Mr. Corski did not make these conferences public and neither did Dr. Joliet. The teachers saw Mr. Corski's loss of position in more personal terms. Used to the other principal's style and angered at the move and the middle school's second place status he quickly came into visible conflict with Dr. Joliet. One woman who had a high opinion of them both described their interaction as difficult though she did not see the issues of authority at stake. She described Mr. Corski as "aggressive and assertive" and painted a picture of his demanding resources in a peremptory style. Dr. Joliet responded by underscoring for Mr. Corski the need to follow regular procedures and channels of authority. She suggested that an element of struggle for male dominance became entwined with male teachers' relations of authority with both Dr. Joliet[4] and the other administrators.

The other teachers in Mr. Corski's department made reference to his failing to get the curriculum co-ordinator's job, and not only being returned to the classroom but stripped of his chairmanship, as one of the reasons for their low opinion of the school administration, but they were unready to give details of the conflict. Some told me to ask Mr. Corski. I did ask Mr. Corski and his account, though given from a different point of view, was consistent with the woman's, including the development of conflict between him and the administrators.

Mr. Corski said that he had not been regarded by administrators as a "team player" as the administrators called it because he was critical when arrangements were confused. Asked for an example he told of getting a set of rooms for the exploratory classes which changed every nine weeks from Mr. Mueller well ahead of the time they were to be taught, only to be told by the other assistant principal when he went to get keys to the rooms shortly before the classes began that he could have neither the keys nor the rooms. Asked how a "team player" would be supposed to handle that situation, he replied:

Mr. Corski:	The way they were playing it, a team player would probably have sent both of them a memo and then prayed that they'd make a decision before the kids would enter the next grade. And then if it didn't happen, run to the top administrator and be prepared to take the blame and say you'd do better next time.
Interviewer:	Then you as a team player would be prepared to take the blame?
Mr. Corski:	I'd say we'll have to work this out and we'll have to get this ready earlier next time or some such thing as that, even though it was done in plenty of time. The administrators were confused as to their roles and what to do.

The substance of Mr. Corski's comments suggest that he was indeed "aggressive and assertive" and impatient with the logistical snarls of a new program run by persons who had not yet had time to work out smooth routines. Both the substance and the tone, which was in places harshly critical, suggest a barely suppressed rage concerning his dealing with the assistant principals. That rage resonated with the feelings of other faculty, especially his department and the white males from Atlantic Avenue and to a lesser degree his grade level team, to sharpen a climate of constant criticism not so much of Dr. Joliet as of the administrative structure and of Mr. Mueller. I will say more of these feelings among the faculty when I discuss faculty culture.

Here it is important only to add that, like the dissident at Adams who established an external power base in the union, Mr. Corski and some of the other dissident teachers established an external base in alliance with critical parents. Judging from students' responses in interviews a few even shared their criticisms with students. One pair of parents who had played a major part in supporting the school with other active parents in the first year, counseling patience while various practical snarls were worked out, were persuaded by Mr. Corski not to send their two able children to Mann high school. They came to disparage the school administration's attempt to channel able children from the middle school to the high school--a practice which was supportive of their attempts to establish the high school program. The proximity of the middle school for recruiting purposes was perhaps the only reward to the high school for the real inconveniences its presence caused to that program.

In one brief conversation, Mr. Mueller spoke of Mr. Corski's attempt to make alliance with parents against the administrators and expressed feelings toward Mr. Corski which matched Mr. Corski's toward him.

It is important to note in all the discussion of relations between the administrators and the teachers that the issue of pride and the bruising of pride was a constant underlying theme. It was more important for the men than for the women--one woman mentioned unavailingly suggesting to Mr. Corski that many of his good ideas for the program might prevail better with a more indirect approach. But even the women felt it. However, like the teacher who said that handing out one row of staples was not meant to hurt anybody's feelings, the women were more able to say aloud that their feelings were hurt and more ready to brush these feelings aside in the interests of getting the program going as best they could.

Administrative style: Mr. Mueller. Mr. Mueller was more personable than Dr. Joliet. The majority of teachers found him personally likable, outgoing and warm. He addressed them by their first names and expected to be addressed as "Andy" at least in informal situations. He was ready to engage in friendly conversation about non-business matters when passing in the hall or the office.

It is almost impossible to disentangle the choices Mr. Mueller made from those that were thrust upon him by his structural subordination to Dr. Joliet. It seemed clear from any number of indicators that head on opposition to Dr. Joliet anywhere but in complete privacy would have been a self-defeating strategy. The structure made Dr. Joliet principal, clearly in charge, and Dr. Joliet maintained that role. Willingly or unwillingly, Mr. Mueller had to play the subordinate part of assistant principal whatever rhetoric there might be about his role as administrator in charge. He did have some discretion, but he seemed to cross the boundaries of that discretion and find himself reversed rather often, with the consequence that his subordination was publicly underscored without his ever mentioning it. He looked indecisive and unorganized in addition.

Indeed, in many ways the position of administrator in charge made Mr. Mueller's position more difficult than that of a simple assistant principal. He had to face the parent teacher organization and faculty meetings alone to announce or justify policies. He stood there as though he were the person in charge with authority to act and accountability for what happened as a result, yet he had no free hand to respond to suggestions and he had to justify policies with which he did not always agree. The consequence of this position was a good deal of anger directed personally at Mr. Mueller for being indecisive or slow to act when in fact he was not free to act.

The faculty also complained almost universally that he was not well organized, that questions went unanswered, students sent out of class for discipline were not seen for more than a week after the event, and policies were made at the last minute. My observations confirmed the accuracy of these statements. One teacher who liked Mr. Mueller said he just needed a well-organized secretary to keep him on track and remembering his tasks. But the problem was not so simple, because his time and his decisions were not his own. He could not "plan what he would do at 10:10 every day," even if he had wanted to, because he was always subject to being called for tasks that came up unexpectedly. As Wolcott (1973) has pointed out for elementary principals, a large part of the principal's job involves responding to the nonroutine and unpredictable events which occur in the school. Secondary principals, especially in high schools, are somewhat removed from that reactive role by the presence of several assistant principals who respond to the majority of nonroutine events. Because there was no assistant principal for the middle school, Mr. Mueller had none of this protection in middle school matters. In addition, he sometimes had to be a responder to nonroutine high school events, as an assistant principal in the building, at the expense of his middle school responsibilities.

The faculty were affected by the fact that scheduling of classes had come out of the computer with many errors in the second fall as well as the first. One teacher defended Mr. Mueller on this issue saying that if any one from central office came down and looked at the complexity of the activities to be scheduled, they would separate the schools immediately. Another teacher who was in many ways sympathetic to Mr. Mueller said with some exasperation "If he can't do it right despite all his work on it--why doesn't he get help?" But even though he was a novice in computer programming, he could not go for help to the teachers in the school who were well acquainted with computers. The hierarchical understanding of relationships in the school would have made such a request an admission of failure rather than--as it might have been elsewhere--a simple request for co-operation in a difficult and important task.

Both times the curriculum co-ordinator and counselor finally untangled the snarls by hand. Their help could be enlisted because they were subordinates who could be told to do it. And indeed they did a number of administrative tasks because there was not enough manpower to do them. This lack of manpower was also a reason for Mr. Mueller's apparent lack of organization. He was simply overloaded with tasks and with concerns.

The importance of the structural problems of his role to Mr. Mueller's difficulties in making final decisions and in getting things done is underscored by comparison with his actions as principal of a summer school program in the arts. He spoke to me of this program with obvious pleasure. One teacher who had participated in it described Mr. Mueller in that context. Contrast her description of him in the summer to the characterization of his behavior at Mann.

Ms. Mischka: He just took great concern for the program. He really wanted to give a good experience to the kids. Worked well with the staff. He was very friendly with the staff and I just had a heck of a lot of respect for him...

Interviewer: Did he tend to operate in a more collegial fashion there than here?

Ms. Mischka: He always gave us strong guidelines about the way he wanted things and fought for them. And the teachers kind of agreed with him. I think mostly because of the fact that he worked so hard at what he did. I think everybody respected that. He was such a hard worker and an organized person.

He never made a requirement but he really urged teachers to get students out to perform. He always complimented people who did. I don't know of any occasion when he said, "You will perform; you put a group up there or else." He always tried to be a leadership figure and he did it well where I used to work with him before. [Emphasis added]

Mr. Mueller's structural position of having responsibility with no authority created a number of problems for his capacity to lead the middle school staff in setting up a distinctive program. He could not set a direction and exhort the faculty to follow in part because the needs of the overall building and Dr. Joliet's style were in conflict with important definitions of the program, a problem discussed below. But also he could not get the respect of the staff, in part because he seemed unable to live up to the title of administrator in charge and in part because he appeared disorganized and was unable to met real, practical needs of the teachers for decisions on programs or for discipline of students.

As administrator in charge of the middle school, the symbolic figure at its head, he was the person formally responsible for its practical needs and identity. But instead he was clearly playing a subordinate role. His position and actions thus added to the teachers' feelings of being belittled and neglected.

Administrative relations at Mann. I suggested in Chapter Four that the need to create a distinctive IGE program with a new kind of student body pushed Mrs. Michaels into taking a more hierarchical role than she had at Williams Annex or than she did in the later stages of Adams's development. At Mann the principal's task was considerably more formidable. The high school program had to be created from the meeting of strangers in both the staff and student body. The middle school program was to be developed from only an embryonic first year within physical and social conditions which were not well-suited to its needs, and with a significant portion of the staff and parents very angry at being where they were. Two schools which had less background than Adams to build upon thus had to become instant successes with a good deal less of a cushion of positive expectations to buffer their first efforts.

In this situation, Dr. Joliet who was accountable for the welfare of both schools, had little choice but to act in at least a firmly directive way. Simple logistics were a major task and one which had not been thoroughly ironed out by the second year. There was a great deal of basic planning and co-ordinating to do before the school could operate smoothly in the straightforward maintenance matters necessary to any school. Centralized planning and insistence on co-operation were the easiest method for caring for these problems. This was the more true because the school was large and, with two programs, fractionated. There were no routines established and few informal methods of co-operation which could be relied upon to do the work of co-ordination in less formal ways. Even within the middle school staff, most of whom knew each other, the new grade level teams and the lack of emphasis upon departments required co-operation with unfamiliar persons around unfamiliar issues.

Further, in a situation where the environment is threatening, it is a common response for the organization to become more hierarchically unified in order to speak with one voice (Udy, 1959). Much of the administrators' efforts, especially in the first year and a half, went into dealing with critical parents.

Similarly with two schools whose needs for space, resources, administrative time, and attention to style of scheduling were inevitably competitive, it was reasonable to have a single person in charge so that coequal administrative heads did not work at crosspurposes for the good of their separate programs. But where the person in charge had excellent reason to identify more with one program, it was inevitable that one would become primary and the other secondary. Plans to move the middle school out relegated it to "guest" status.

Thus the outlines of the administrative style used by both Dr. Joliet and Mr. Mueller were dictated by the situation, with only matters of tone added by their personal characteristics. But many teachers did not look at the situation from a distant perspective, asking what was required to get the school running and to reconcile the needs of both schools.

Rather, there were many teachers at Mann, even more than at Adams, who found subordination in a situation defined along traditionally hierarchical bureaucratic lines to be an insult to their status as teachers. Perhaps even more they seemed to find it personally humiliating. At both schools they generally expressed these feelings by criticizing a myriad of specific decisions or patterns of behavior, rather than by directly questioning the principal's right to give orders--which they might reluctantly admit was formally legitimate.

At the same time, at both schools, these teachers argued that the administrators' own subjection to their bureaucratic superordinates was a matter of personal weakness. Thus the Adams dissidents criticized Mrs. Michaels for being too willing to follow directives from the central office and they used pejorative terms for Mr. Mueller's willingness to follow directives from Dr. Joliet. The unspoken message was that to obey bureaucratic orders is undignified or, perhaps better, unmanly. (Most of these dissidents were men, and the criticism of Mrs. Michaels sometimes referred to her feminine gender as a cause.)

Despite these objections to bureaucratic authority, it was these very dissidents at both schools who criticized Mrs. Michaels and Mr. Mueller for a lack of strong control over students. These persons wanted stern and peremptory treatment of students who did not obey their teachers. That is their attitudes toward line authority in their own roles as superordinates were quite different from their attitudes as subordinates.

Especially at Mann, but to a lesser degree among the dissident faction at Adams, pride, and the demeaning of pride through subjection to orders from above was a major issue. (It was not absent at Owens, either, though it more often involved the less tactful curriculum co-ordinator than the principal and it more often took the form of conflict around detailed substantive issues of policy and practice rather than general personal opposition.)

Symbolic Issues in the Relationship of the Middle School and High School

Aside from the concrete issues of difficulties in getting adequate facilities and supplies for the middle school and in the relationship between its administration and that of the high school, there were a lot of small but significant symbolic ways in which the middle school took second place to the high school. High school events came first in announcements over the public address system which always went out to the whole school. Further there were many more of them. The activities of the high school were described in detail while middle school activities were sometimes omitted. Especially on Mondays there was usually a recital of athletic events or extracurricular competitions in which students had competed and often won honors. Moreover when the assistant principal not directly connected with the middle school made announcements of schedule changes or special activities during the day, he sometimes announced them as though they affected every one, then came back on half an hour later to say that a certain announcement applied only to the high school. He seemed to forget, unless particularly reminded, that he was speaking to two schools not just to the high school. Several middle school students mentioned resenting having to listen to announcements of events they would like to go to but were excluded from. Perhaps with the suggestion of their teachers, they especially mentioned being excluded from high school pep rallies but encouraged to come to high school games where their purchase of tickets would add to the income of the high school athletic program.[6]

For the faculty the seat of activity remained in the high school even after the middle school office was established. I asked one of the teachers who had talked about the difficulty of getting supplies upon their arrival in the school whether the situation had improved with the establishment of the middle school office. She said it had not significantly. She had gone there for masking tape the previous week and found they had only one roll on hand. If they wanted more they had to ask for it from the high school office.

A new teacher whose closest ties were with the core group from

Atlantic summarized the problems which made the middle school faculty feel as though they were second class citizens. His comments stress the satellite character of the middle school in a system constructed around the high school:

Mr. Cermack: I guess one of the bad things that I've noticed in this school also is the fact that between the staffs, the middle school is treated second rate.

Interviewer: What happens?

Mr. Cermack: First of all the principal seems to put more emphasis on the high school and we get kind of pushed aside on most things. I guess part of it is that the administrator in charge of the middle school is also involved with programming for the high school; so at times it seems we have no administrator in the middle school....Many of the teachers have a tendency in the high school to put their nose up in the air and think they're superior to the middle school teachers. Maybe because some have master's degrees and that kind of thing. I have one too but big deal, who cares? I guess there is too much conflict among interests putting a senior high and a middle school together in the same building. I don't think they blend very well.

Interviewer: What specifically makes it difficult to blend?

Mr. Cermack: I guess lack of leadership for the middle school. We really don't have anybody who's really in charge because when Mueller for instance, wants to get something done it's as though he has to go ask Joliet for permission to do it. Now that's not a leader...that's not leadership. And consequently it just--I hear this so many times from the middle school staff that we're treated second rate.

At my last school, for instance, we had typing aides to help us type up tests. Here we have none. I've questioned it, I'm told, "Hey we just don't--we're not good enough to have that."

Paper around here is like pulling teeth. At the last school I was at it's out there. You help yourself, you get the master and you just do it, give it to the typing aide if you want something done. Here you have to requisition everything.

Our paychecks are in the high school office, never in the middle school office. They don't trust the people in the middle school office.

Our mail is always dependent on when the high school's finished with it. What's left over comes here. It must be ours if they can't distribute it over there. Just so many little things, I guess. When the HTEA [union] sends out a flyer, we get it 2 or 3 days after the high school gets it. It's tied up. So much information is tied up in the office in

> the high school.
>
> I took a class, for another teacher who went on a field trip or something. I go to the secretary for the middle school and say "Well are you going to have the card ready for me to fill out so I get paid for that class?" No, that's got to come from the high school office.
>
> So right now all the things seem to add up to we're second rate. Everything centers out of the high school and then comes to the middle school. So I guess that's where that impression comes.

The middle school's greatest use to the high school program, aside from being a recruiting ground, lay in its capacity to field teams of students skilled in various academically related activities which could win contests in the city and sometimes even the state. These outside appearances and honors gave public visibility and a reputation for having able students to Horace Mann School as a whole. Here the middle school was not second rate. A teacher who directed one of these activities, which involved a team that often competed against high schools and won, spoke of Dr. Joliet's great moral and financial support of the activity.

But even this relationship could work to weaken the middle school in some contexts, while it built the high school. The instrumental music teacher who worked mostly with the middle school explained:

> I have a middle school orchestra and I have the high school orchestra. We have some middle school students in high school orchestra. And I would like to get away from that if I can because I'd rather build a strong middle school program in preparation for moving away. I'd like the middle school kids to feel that they are part of the middle school and that it's not, you know once you get good you move into high school orchestra, I don't want that. This year primarily I was using them to build the high school orchestra up. Because they made it so much better than it would be if they weren't in there. The best violin player in the high school orchestra is a middle school 8th grade student.
>
> As a recruitment tool for the high school it's excellent, because she's going to Mann High School. And I think particularly it's because of the good musical experiences she's had. It was between here and Grant High School which has a music specialty and she really wanted Grant at the beginning of the year. And by being involved the way she has she's been persuaded to come to Mann.

There were two small indicators of the continuing dominance of the high school which were particularly striking to me as an outsider, but which no one spontaneously mentioned to me or to each other in my hearing. The first of these was a bulletin board in the front entrance hall at the bottom of the stairs. It announced Horace Mann Events of the Week. It listed only high school events, never middle school events. The second was a set of brightly colored banners strung across the first floor hall during half of May announcing a Horace Mann All School Picnic. Since I heard no one mention this picnic I finally asked about it. A mild-mannered first year teacher told me he had wondered about that too, but upon asking had found out it was only for the high school.

Both the presence of these signs which symbolically erased the middle school from membership in the entity called Horace Mann and the teachers' failure to comment upon them because they apparently no longer noticed such things, seemed to me clear evidence that the middle school faculty were not simply oversensitive when they said that their position was second rate. This status also added to their sense of temporary residence in the building. They were explicitly excluded from membership and felt at best they were only momentarily present, stopping off in transit. A new teacher, Mr. Noah, who was glad to be at the school and eager to work for its development expressed this feeling in its most positive light when he said "We're just guests in this building until they find another building for us."[7]

INFLUENCES ON THE DEFINITION OF THE GIFTED AND TALENTED PROGRAM

Acceleration versus Enrichment

Gifted and talented programs are springing up around us in the last five years or so. The programs at Peach Street and Mann were relatively early in the resurgence of an old idea which is finding new currency. But though such special programs have been around in some form for a long time, and though they are currently coming into vogue, they are still not well defined. Initially they take their definition from the children they serve. The kind of children actually recruited for a program will therefore have an important impact upon it. Still, there is a good deal of disagreement in the literature about the relative merits of an accelerated traditional program for gifted children versus an "enriched" program which does not move them along faster than other children but allows them a broader range of experience and inquiry. The tension between these two approaches ran deep in the Mann middle school.

Heartland has for many years had a "superior ability program" for fifth through twelfth graders whose standardized test scores in all subjects are above the ninetieth percentile. Superior ability classes were a separate track in schools scattered around the city drawing all the eligible pupils from a fairly broad surrounding geographical area. This tradition of frankly separating out the strongest students went back to the roots of the dominant northern European group in the city.[8]

When the central office was designing programs for the magnet schools, the gifted and talented program was designed to be distinct from the extant superior ability program--and also of course to be more racially diverse. It was built around guidelines that the then Department of Health, Education and Welfare had promulgated at the federal level. These guidelines were designed to include children whose strengths were not necessarily academic.

Recruitment to the program was accomplished by having teachers in every class of children in the city one year younger than the entry grade for Peach Street and for the middle school nominate children whom they thought best met HEW criteria. The form asked them to list children who demonstrated "achievement and/or potential ability in any of the following areas, singly or in combination:

1. general intellectual ability
2. specific academic aptitude
3. creative or productive thinking
4. leadership ability
5. visual and performing arts
6. psychomotor ability."

The program, then, was formally designed to attract children who might not be academically advanced, but who were good creative thinkers, leaders, artists, or athletes. Because a teacher's nomination was an important ingredient in selection, skill at pleasing a teacher was probably also a criterion, except for those few children whose skill at displeasing teachers or principals made them candidates for removal from their schools through this special program. After the first year at Atlantic, the gifted and talented middle school drew half its students from Peach Street. All Peach Street fifth graders were guaranteed a seat in the middle school and all but a handful accepted that seat each year. The other half came from nominations from schools all over the city and a few in the suburbs.

Even though the gifted and talented program was designed for this broadly defined group for most of whom enrichment was more appropriate than acceleration, the school was caught in a cross fire of definitions of and pressures for varied kinds of gifted and talented programs; so that it was hard for it to develop either clear goals or effective means. Part of this crossfire came from the varied administrative influences I briefly outlined in the last section. Part came from its location as a school literally in the middle between elementary education at Peach Street as a model and high school education at Mann High School for the College Bound as a model.

The Influence of Peach Street School

The Peach Street program. The gifted and talented program was initially started at Peach Street. It was there that central office administrators, especially Mr. Linski in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction who became strongly identified with the gifted and talented program, were able to see their ideas take concrete form. I have already described the refurbishment of the building and the handpicking of teachers. The principal, Mr. Wildavsky, had unusually good skills in relating to parents. He made them feel their ideas had been taken seriously whether they were acted on or not.

He and Mr. Linski became known as the architects of the gifted and talented program as it developed at Peach Street, and by extension in Heartland. Not only did they gather a following of parents within the city and visibility within the wider school system but they were leaders in workshops on teaching the gifted and talented in Heartland's part of the state.

The program at Peach Street explicitly emphasized enrichment over accleration. Not all parents or teachers agreed with this philosophy, but Mr. Wildavsky clearly hewed to it. The program was distinctive in the richness of its offerings for third through fifth graders. Students were offered instrumental music lessons as well as regular art and music. All students, not just select talented ones, were encouraged to participate in these lessons. Industrial arts and home economics were offered in alternating six week periods from the third grade on. A computer was available for remedial help and also to teach the basics of programming to children who were advanced in mathematics and to others as a lunch time activity. (But teachers were not encouraged to teach able children traditional mathematics skills above their grade levels.) There was an enormous array of special activities at lunchtime ranging from organized intramural teams in a series of sports to dramatic improvisation with a video recorder, modern dance activities, chess games, and a large chorus.

The whole school traveled downtown to children's performances by the local symphony and to plays offered during the day. Field trips in small groups to local points of interest were common. Two fourth grade teachers emphasized studies of varied ethnic groups in the city and finished each unit with a class trip to a local ethnic restaurant. Community figures and representatives of various occupations were invited to talk with groups of children over lunch in a special small lunch room.

As part of its philosophy Peach Street emphasized flexibility, attempting to allow opportunity for children with special interests or needs to deviate from the routine where possible. Both children and parents learned that requests for exceptions would be politely welcomed and frequently granted.

Peach Street parents' and students' expectations. The majority of parents and students liked the program at Peach Street a good deal. Parents were made to feel very welcome. They were listened to with patience, allowed to visit the school freely, and virtually bombarded with newsletters about every aspect of the program. They expected similar treatment when they and their children moved to Mann. But though Dr. Joliet and Mr. Mueller did a great deal of listening, Dr. Joliet was no more willing to take directions--as he perceived some expectations--from parents than from teachers. As one perceptive person who was one of the few well acquainted with the interior working of both programs put the case, "parents' needs are met at Peach Street, and they are not at Mann."

With unmet needs, a few Peach Street parents became very aggressive, especially in the first year and a half. One of the issues on which they pressed the school was the opportunity for a flexible and wide ranging set of learning opportunities like those at Peach Street. Those whose oldest children were in the program also experienced with them the shock of the more impersonal treatment and fractionated experience which comes with the transition from elementary school to a departmentalized secondary school where children travel to different teachers all day. The decision to make the sixth grade partially self-contained was a response to this parental feeling.

It should be noted also that parents were not as a body in agreement about stressing enrichment, nor were individuals consistent in choosing between enrichment and acceleration. Some of the same individuals who wanted flexibility and outside activities also were very happy to have a seventh grade "prealgebra" and eighth grade algebra class and they raised a considerable protest when it seemed these classes might be discontinued because of scheduling problems.

The Peach Street children also had expectations fostered from their experience there. They expected some freedom to move about in a room, and some flexibility in program so that ideas which came up in the course of a day might be followed out even if they deviated from a set plan. They liked field trips and special activities. To many of the Mann teachers these expectations appeared as a desire simply to "play" or throw away the books, though one or two praised these students' capacity to work in groups or to use self-control.

Further, having had an opportunity for such an array of enriching experiences in the elementary school, some of the Peach Street students became a slightly jaded audience. It took a good deal to seem original and genuinely refreshing to them. Thus I overheard members of a sixth grade class complaining to one another as the teacher prepared them for a bus tour of the city the following day that they had already done this in the fourth grade. One eighth grade teacher pointed out this jaded quality rather pungently, though few other teachers mentioned it:

> [At Peach Street] they're always going on field trips so it's hard for us to go further. If they've already been around the city, if we take the French students to France in the sixth grade[9] where are we going to take them the next year? To China? And then when they go to high school they'll have to go to Venus.
>
> So we have a hard time coping with that kind of an attitude. They want to go on field trips coming out of Peach Street, but they're disappointed that they can't go further. This year we didn't go on a lot of field trips. We did go to [two downtown theaters], but when it came time to bring in their money and buy the tickets, students who had been saying, "Why can't we go on more field trips?" said, "Oh, we don't want to do that. We've already been there. That's babyish."
>
> But this was The Legend of Sleepy Hollow which is part of the junior high school curriculum. So that is difficult to deal with.

The Influence of Mann High School

If the gifted and talented program as worked out by the central office in planning magnet schools and as embodied at Peach Street stressed enrichment, the program at Mann High School for the College Bound stressed acceleration. Its pride was the program within the school for its most able students which lead to the International Baccalaureate and eligibility for entry to the sophmore year of college at the end of four years of high school. Dr. Joliet sought the strongest students he could attract to the school and saw the middle school as a recruiting ground for such students for the high school. He assumed that with able students rapid intense academic progress was a virtue. This was the goal he promulgated for both schools--though he did remember that the middle school was supposed to provide diverse experiences as well.

Logistics. An important influence on the style of the middle school program arose from logistical pressures which came from the location of the middle school within the physical and temporal context set by the high school. An accelerated program and an enriched program require rather different uses of time and space and different classroom activity structures. A program aimed at enrichment with an emphasis upon a diverse offering of activities and flexibility for the individual child entails a flexible daily schedule and opportunities for children to move freely about the school on special errands and on their way to special activities. It works best in settings where rooms are large and set up with tables and chairs and possibly with nooks and corners furnished with comfortable mats or old arm chairs. It requires enough space in the school so that special activities such as music lessons, or special interest groups, and diverse lunchtime activities and clubs can be comfortably housed. And it requires a schedule and perhaps an activity structure such that field trips lasting half a day will not impossibly disrupt children's and teachers' work together in other classes.

Peach Street's self-contained elementary classes housed in large rooms with tables were well designed for such a program. The school also had flexible rooms where small and large groups could meet. Mann, built and furnished as a high school, was poorly designed for such a program. The classrooms were rectangles just large enough to hold thirty-five chairs with writing arms lined up in rows. The long halls with aesthetic but hard composition floors and walls made of plaster and locker doors magnified sound and were hard to use for extra space. There were few odd sized rooms. And as the high school grew, classrooms became in short supply. The classes of the international baccalaureate program often had fewer than a dozen students, but they required full classrooms; so that with relatively few students the school was tightly packed.

The time schedule was similarly keyed to the needs of a high school. Students were allowed into the building shortly before a homeroom period when PA announcements for both schools were made and attendance and excuses taken care of. Then the day consisted of seven periods of equal length punctuated by loud bells with four minute intervals for travel between classes. The whole school moved from class to class with these bells. The activities from one period must be finished and cleaned up in time for these shifts. Students engrossed in projects were expected at the next class with their sound. Only in the last period of the day was there variation. The eighth hour was shorter for the middle school, only thirty minutes. This time was labeled the exploratory hour and used for ungraded activities. The bell at the end dismissed the middle school students who had eighteen minutes to go to the auditorium and thence to their buses before the high school students were dismissed after a period of the regular length.

The Middle School Plan

The secondary pattern of scheduling, curriculum and staff organization was slightly modified because of the districtwide transition from junior high schools to middle schools which took place in the year of the study at Mann, 1979-1980. This plan mandated that all middle schools would be organized with grade level teams designed according to the principles long in practice at Adams and a few other schools. Children were to have a common group of teachers of academic subjects and the teachers to have a common group of children. The teachers were to spend one period a day in common preparation, planning team activities and discussing the needs of children. Departments were to be deemphasized, and when the plan was fully phased in, a schoolwide curriculum co-ordinator was to take over the former tasks of department heads. Mann followed this pattern in a modified version. The number of students at each grade level did not match the number of classes a single teacher could cover. Thus, some teachers taught children at two grade levels. Also some teachers taught in two subjects instead of one and might have the same children twice and others not at all.

The second element of the middle school plan which affected Mann was the "exploratory" class mandated for all middle schools. This short class was intended to allow students to broaden their horizons through pursuing a number of different subjects--which might not be standard academic subjects--through the course of the year. Courses were intended to be mini-courses with new offerings and a total shift at specified periods during the semester. Teachers were encouraged to teach hobbies or special interests during this period, though it could also be used for remedial or advanced work in subject areas. At Mann the administration ruled in the second year that only academic subjects were to be offered. While this definition allowed drama, music, or photography, it precluded craft or athletic activities.

Faculty Definitions of a Gifted and Talented Program

The legacy of Atlantic Avenue. Teachers as well as parents, students, and administrators had a part in defining the program. The bulk of teachers had come from Atlantic Avenue and their understanding of a gifted and talented program was shaped by that experience. Atlantic Avenue had been very explicitly a secondary school, organized around departments with an

174

emphasis upon "teaching subjects" rather than "teaching children". At Mann, with only a few exceptions in the non-academic subjects and the sixth grade, teachers had been trained for grades 7-12. They identified with high school teaching and looked to their departments rather than their teams or the school as a whole as their primary focus of allegiance. For them to teach well was to teach a lot of mathematics, English, or art. For a child to be learning well he or she must be showing excellence in mathematics, English or art.

Thus many of the teachers were quite explicit in pronouncing what was essentially an acceleration philosophy of teaching the gifted and talented. One such teacher is quoted in notes on an interview which was not tape recorded.

> I asked him what he thought a school for the gifted and talented should be like if he had his way in defining it. He said first of all you should have children who are really gifted and talented. And then secondly you should be able to group them. Grouping should not be a bad word.... They ought to be able to be grouped together to go as fast as they can go in math. And if a child is talented in music, he ought to be with other people who are talented in music....
>
> He said that teaching for the gifted and talented is simply good teaching. He knows he can get in trouble for saying that, that that opinion is not totally acceptable. But he still thinks it is true. Good teaching is good teaching no matter who you are teaching, but there are some children it is difficult to do it with, especially if they are constant discipline problems.

Teachers in fields such as art and music which might have played a large part in enrichment shared this emphasis upon acceleration. When I asked them how they would run a gifted and talented program if they were given the opportunity, they talked about arrangements which would allow them to work with the really talented in more concentrated groups. They did also talk about more flexible uses of time; since for some activities they needed longer time blocks and for others shorter ones than those of the standard high school class.[10]

Other teachers from Atlantic suggested that a gifted and talented program was not much different from any other program. Some took this position from a very simple skepticism about the utility of any variations in teaching methods as did this teacher of an academic subject:

> There was an inservice class...that first year, but I couldn't take it because I had a time conflict. But I don't think there is much need for it. As far as I'm concerned kids are kids and they need structure. They need the basic fundamentals. You find out what they know and what they need to learn from there and then you start teaching that.

When I asked teachers a standard question in my interview guide concerning how they would set up a program for the gifted and talented if they could do so free from the constraints of the present setting, the most common response was that they would screen children carefully and identify their gifts or talents clearly. Many teachers expressed a good deal of frustration and anger over what they perceived to be inadequate screening of children in the school. Realizing that the philosophy of the selection included children whose talents were not academic they also expressed frustration over the lack of identification of these talents. A new teacher who was close to the Atlantic teachers expressed this frustration in a typical way:

> The requirements for being a student here as far as being admitted to the program I do not know. I've been trying to find out and they are vaguely defined from what I can find out. I don't know what you have to demonstrate to get in here. I've got lots of kids I'd be hard pressed to find any particular outstanding talent or gift they have.
>
> The whole identification process seems to be clouded in a great deal of confusion. I'm not sure and I don't think the powers that be that put this thing together are sure what they want here. You know, what kind of students they want and what kind of program they want....
>
> We've been trying all year to find out what particular gifts or talents were identified in each of our seventh graders that made them candidates to be here. We can't get our hands on that information. It's not in their permanent records and that seems to be some of the information that has been lost in the move.

This emphasis on the screening of students as the defining characteristic of a gifted and talented program, and the protest that screening was poor and identification of special talents poorer implied an unstated definition of the program. The teachers seemed to assume in the first instance that a gifted and talented program should be primarily academic and that children should thus be academically highly able. But failing that, these teachers held that students should at least show some very clear special skill which a teacher could develop in the same way that he or she would develop academic skill.

But more important, the teachers seemed to be rooted in the here and now, in the issue of how they could be reasonably asked to cope with the students they had--not how they might develop a really distinctive gifted and talented program. Thus their anger over the lack of careful selection and identification of students carried the constant implicit suggestion that these gifts and talents hiding under bushels or stashed in lost files were in fact nonexistent, that the school was actually serving a group of nice, well-behaved children most of whom had slightly above average academic qualifications. If that were the case, they seemed to be saying, then a traditional, slightly accelerated program would be the appropriate offering. They did not explicitly draw that conclusion (except for those teachers who argued that good teaching is always the same), but rather ironically suggested that it was difficult to develop a program suited to special gifts and talents without knowing what these were.

Once again, the teachers' pride seems to have been a major issue. They felt they were under criticism from parents and administrators for failing to develop a distinctive program, and they felt that it was impossible and probably inappropriate to do so with the information and--more importantly they suspected--with the students given to them by the administration. They thus felt they were being unfairly criticized and they were highly defensive.[11]

Alternative perspectives. There were some teachers, however, who had more complex notions of the proper activities for a gifted and talented program. The four teachers who had worked in the program at Atlantic Avenue with the first seventy students had been given extensive training and consultation in methods of working with such children. And though some said the experience had been difficult for them at first, they all showed some enthusiasm for a more flexible, complex, and enrichment-centered approach than a traditional secondary program offers or than most of their colleagues offered. Some other teachers from Atlantic and some who had joined the program in the two years at Mann from other schools had read or taken training on gifted and talented education on their own and also showed leanings toward diverse activities and curricular approaches.

One of the initial four teachers answered the question about how she would run a gifted and talented program in the following pithy way:

> I think the goals of the gifted and talented school and of any school have to be that the students first of all have to have reading, writing, and arithmetic. Those you must have. Then a gifted and talented school ought to provide for special interests. It also has to provide for exposure to a variety of resources in the community....There ought to be some training in reasoning and thinking skills. There may be some other small things but that's I think the main things.

One of the Atlantic teachers who liked to think of himself as a renegade criticized Mann for being insensitive to the needs, feelings and thoughts of students. Though he did not co-operate with other members of his team who attempted to move the program away from a traditional model, he did change his own classroom practice to allow students a greater variety of activities and experiences. He maintained a less formal interactional style than other teachers as well. He went so far as to praise Peach Street and speak of it as a model in his interview, something no one else did (though many teachers knew very little about it while he was fresh from a visit at the time of the interview):

> I think that the setup that Peach Street has got,... where the desks are eliminated to some extent, the kids work together more in groups, there's more individual direction and the teacher works more as a guiding person rather than as an instruction person. That's breaking a little from the traditional, but I think that in the gifted and talented if you're going to teach the kids to handle their own life, they should be able to develop by middle school some sense of self-direction. I view my role in the gifted and talented program according to the contract concept where the kids work on their own and I just simply help them rather than give formal instruction. I like the idea of tutoring one on one. To me there's no more effective method because you can answer a question when it comes out. A kid can ask a question any time and you can answer it at that time if you're one on one. In a class setting that's not always possible.

Finally a teacher who had come from another junior high school to Mann, and who taught in a special language immersion program where she had the same children two periods a day expressed one of the broadest definitions:

> You set down goals and methods, I guess, to let the kids explore a lot of different areas but still keeping in mind they must have some foundation in their education in reading, math, science or whatever. I just finished writing up a paper on the immersion program and one thing is that you can start out teaching very basic information, facts that the kids have to know, vocabulary, grammar or structures, anything. But have that lead up not just to the chapter test but to some sort of practical experience. When I use it in the foreign language class, I have them learn vocabulary and grammar and whatever else they need to put on a skit for instance or to set up some sort of a real life situation, like to set up a market and then actually use it. Rather than just to learn the material and do nothing with it. But I think that could apply to a lot of subject areas, to make it more real or practical for the kids.
>
> In the gifted and talented program I would like to see more things done by the kids. Give the kids guidelines; give them information; and then have them present the project....I think with gifted and talented kids we should be using the resources they have.

This teacher taught as well as spoke in a way that differed noticeably from the majority of teachers. While she was firm, she was a good deal more personal in her relations with students and she allowed them a good deal of initiative, as long as they spoke French.

Despite the presence of a minority of teachers who thought that a gifted and talented program should offer something different from a traditional secondary program, there was no group effort to seek implementation of that something. Each teacher who thought this way worked alone. The group of four who had been a team in the first year at Atlantic were now evenly split between the seventh and eighth grade teams. They had no close social bonds with one another and were no longer a group. Two of them did make some effort to affect the larger school, one through the team, of which she was however not the formal leader, and one, a black teacher, through the committee that worked on special events with an ethnic flavor and through quiet persuasion on issues relevant to black students.

The proper overall character of the program, or even specific ideas for teaching were rarely mentioned among the teachers in informal interaction in the lunch room. I did hear discussions of the latest administrative difficulty, but not of what might be done with the program. Team meetings, which I will discuss at more length under faculty culture, also did not provide a locus for discussion of curriculum or program. They were used mainly to deal with individual students' problems or to plan special events such as group outings or a fund drive for a large field trip. Two teams did not have regular full meetings.

In short, the majority of teachers saw an ideal gifted and talented program as one which was simply good teaching or one which stressed acceleration within a traditional secondary approach. These teachers generally held that the pattern of recruitment ruled out a really accelerated program at Mann. There were individual teachers who believed in trying a variety of enriching experiences, but each tended to be isolated in his or her efforts and in little contact with others of like mind.

Administration-faculty conflict. There were some other reasons why the majority of teachers were reluctant to try to develop a distinctive program. In the first year of the gifted and talented program at Atlantic, teachers had been given released time to write a curriculum guide for the program, which was in essence a detailed statement of goals and activities. When the move was made some teachers and some parents called upon this guide as just that a guide for the program. It threatened to become a Bible, an independent standard to which active parents, who were very much aware of it, and teachers could refer in making demands for the program. Dr. Joliet was presumably cognizant of the dangers to hierarchical control when the rank and file may each interpret scripture and derive binding rules for behavior from it independent of the authority of hierarchical office. In any case, he dismissed the curriculum guide as too general to be useful. (Like most curriculum guides, it was in the main general.) He and Mr. Mueller allowed it no currency.

The administrators also stated that the Atlantic teachers were in particular need of training and improvement to be qualified for a gifted and talented program because they were used to teaching children with predominantly low skills in a situation where there were few agents to call them to account for the quality of their teaching. This attitude did not make the Atlantic teachers more eager to work toward developing a coherent purpose for the program. In the light of the demise of the curriculum guide, and the problems associated with being a school within a school, they implicitly took the position that administrative conditions made it impossible for them to develop a distinctive program.

It might have been possible for the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and specifically for Mr. Linski who had worked very closely with the original four teachers to assist in this situation. But it was difficult, since the physical and social setting made the kind of enriched approach central office had in mind difficult to carry out. Mr. Linski was rarely seen at the school during the year of the study--except that he participated actively in most of the meetings of the parent group developing criteria for a new site.

A teacher who joined the staff in the year of the study and became assimilated to the dissident Atlantic group described their position concerning the working out of a distinctive program:

Ms. Wilhelm: It's just that there's a lot of vagueness surrounding this whole concept of gifted and talented and....there just doesn't seem to be much exploring of that. You know the administration and teachers together--there isn't much leadership there in develping just what that program is supposed to be. They have the brochures and whatever they hand out to the community but that still is very vague to me.

Interviewer: You said you'd been working all year on the question of how are you different. Are you talking about the teachers working alone or the teachers and the administration together?

Ms. Wilhelm: Well one of our tasks [in team meetings] was to be exploring that. It's as if we had been given the task of trying to define and put into words what they haven't been able to tell us. It's as if the program has been established without a clear philosophy or clear view and now we're supposed to generate some clear view and clear sense of what this whole things is supposed to be about. Which is really kind of a futile thing to do. You establish a program and then try to figure out what it is. We haven't made any progress on that. There isn't enough dialogue going on between all the people that need to be involved.

Interviewer: And who would need to be involved?

Ms. Wilhelm: I think certainly the administrators would need to be involved. I would like to know who at central office was instrumental in setting up the program and have that person or those people involved. Try to get a sense of...of the history of the program and what its original intention was supposed to be. Whatever it was, either it was very vague all along or we've really gotten away from it. And not being involved with the program historically, I don't know how that has all come about. But other people seem to be as puzzed as I am so I am assuming that...people who have worked on the program from its inception have not maintained contact with those of us working in it. So there's not a sense of continuity there or what the concept is that we're supposed to be working on.

Interviewer: Has Bob Linski been around at all?

Ms. Wilhelm: No....He was here for a few faculty meetings and spoke for about five minutes at each one but we weren't successful in getting him to come to our team meetings.

Materials

A school's program especially one such as a gifted and talented program is affected by the materials it has available for students to work with. Mann middle school was affected by its roots in the Atlantic Avenue school in this matter too. Any school accumulates a store of old main and supplementary texts as well as kits, audio-visual aids, and a library collection. The accumulation available to the Mann gifted and talented school was that collected through the years at Atlantic, with the removal of many such materials lost in the move. But even where accumulated materials had been brought along, they were ones designed for a school with a majority of low achievers. The collection in the library possibly reflected this most graphically. It was a small collection and it stressed books written for a juvenile audience with modest reading levels. There were few adult novels in the fiction section and even few of the great classics for children which make difficult reading. Books by Dickens, Twain, or Howard Pyle were less conspicuous than ones by Beverly Cleary or Donald Sobel which many of these students would have read in the third or fourth grade. At Adams and Owens and one other middle school in the city where I spent a week for comparative purposes, the simpler juvenile literature was available, but so were many more juvenile classics and books written for adults as well as juveniles.

When students went to the library in groups to work on projects, as some classes fairly often did, the while group went straight for the encyclopedias. Whether because of the library's resources, their teachers' training, or their own desire to take a short cut, they looked for little else in the way of informational resources, at least from the school library.

The Sum of Conflicting Influences

Mann's program then was subject to powerful conflicting influences. On one side was the precedent of enrichment and the expectations of parents and students from Peach Street. The formal definition of the program and Mr. Linski's early encouragement of it pushed also in this direction. But on the other side was the daily schedule, the traditional academic atmosphere of the high school and the expectations for traditional secondary teaching of the teachers. Both the high school model and the majority of the teachers defined gifted and talented education in academic terms with acceleration rather than enrichment as the preferred mode of distinctiveness. The physical setting and the temporal schedule imposed by sharing space with the high school inhibited field trips, cross-disciplinary activities, or flexible use of time for music, art, or physical education activities which do not fit neatly into forty-eight minute blocks. Thus, though there were conflicting influences, the most proximate and more forceful pushed the school toward traditional patterns, in which acceleration was the more available route to distinctiveness.

At Mann the tension in middle schools between elementary and secondary patterns became more explicit than in the other two schools described in this report. Both the other schools stressed their alliance with elementary schools. Owens with its self-contained multi-age classes and its concern with integration of subjects did so the most. The multi-age classes requiring certification for the sixth grade drew a faculty most of whom were certified in upper elementary rather than secondary teaching. Mrs. Michaels at Adams favored an elementary model of education and hired upper elementary certified teachers when she could choose. Though students moved from subject to subject, she both mandated and encouraged many activities which cut across classes and encouraged teachers of different subjects to integrate their curricula. The citywide plan for middle schools drew heavily on models like Adams (though another IGE middle school was a more proximate model because its principal was on the committee). It emphasized integration of separate subjects, closer relations between teachers and individual students, and a partially experiential approach. Mr. Linski had been on the committee devising that plan and sympathized with its moving middle schools closer to the elementary model than the junior high schools had been.

At Mann, the administrators had a background in senior high schools--though Dr. Joliet had been principal of a Heartland junior high school for a while. The teachers from Atlantic had been trained for grades 7 to 12 and identified with senior high schools. Some of the new teachers came from senior high backgrounds; only three teachers of those I interviewed had elementary school backgrounds, and these were assigned to the sixth grade. In this setting to hold up Peach Street as a model was insulting, while the high school as a model was more challenging.

Even the middle school plan with its teams rather than departments and its experiential exploratory classes was something of an insult to the pride of some teachers who saw it as undermining academic progress. Thus both the administration and the teachers had loyalties to a secondary model. Such a model is not easily adapted to the curricular or logistical requirements of enrichment. The constituencies which worked for enrichment were associated with elementary education and thus with a rejected lower status. Both administrators and teachers spoke of the children and parents needing to make the transition toward high school, or as one teacher said, learning to do without so much "mothering".

STUDENT RECRUITMENT AS AN INFLUENCE ON THE PROGRAM

Student Recruitment

Size and racial composition. The Mann middle school had approximately 450 students. The exact racial composition was difficult to discover because all statistics for the school were kept in a single record for the whole building. In 1979-1980 the two schools together were 47 percent minority according to the system's way of reporting which includes all minorities. The comparable figures at Adams and Owens were 53 percent and 48 percent for that year. The figure for minorities overall and for blacks in particular was lower in the middle school than in the Mann building as a whole. One purpose of moving the middle school into the building had been to bring it into compliance with desegregation guidelines which in 1978-1979 allowed no more than 50 percent black. The already small enrollment for the high school exceeded that proportion and the addition of the middle school students who were about 40 percent black for that year reduced the total percent black. In 1979-1980, the middle school was also approximately 40 percent black.

Social characteristics. In terms of its social characteristics, Mann's student body differed from the other schools and from the city as a whole. Probably because students had to be nominated by teachers as well as having their parents volunteer them to go to a citywide school they seemed to be selected for diligence, obedience, and high social class. Even teachers who were not very happy with the overall selection process described students as well behaved, or as one teacher said "95 percent nice kids".

The most objective indicator of social class available at the other two schools, the number eating free lunch, was confused by the fact that it was recorded for the two schools together. At the two combined, 32 percent of the lunches served were free lunches compared to 62 percent at Adams and 70 percent at Owens, and 50 percent in the total group of middle schools in the city. The proportion of free lunches in the middle school was probably less than 32 percent.[12]

When I looked at students' locator cards to get their parents' names and addresses for permission for interviews, I also noted the students' statement of their parents' occupation. At Mann there were more occupations requiring a college education than at either of the other two schools, especially Owens where students often left this blank empty or simply wrote the name of a company. At Mann there was a sprinkling of last names well known in the city. And children of school board members, central office personnel, and teachers throughout the system were very likely to be at this school--though they did not constitute anything like a majority. Those children who were not middle class were often from families which were upwardly mobile and ambitious. As I will note later, I was struck in the student interviews with black children's rejection of an all black school as an alternative on the grounds of the bad behavior of other blacks. While this attitude may have come in part from the school, it may also have come from mobile families eager to shelter them from the influences of their economically poor segregated neighborhoods.

In the interviews I was also struck with the self-confidence and articulateness of all the children. Even those whom the teachers picked out as having low skills were willing and able to give full well-expressed answers to a stranger's questions.

Test scores. Since the character and capacities of the student body became an issue in the definition of the program and the willingness of the teachers to work out a distinctive educational approach, it is important to ask what kind of students actually were being recruited. Tables 6-1 and 6-2 compare the fifth grade test scores of the cohort who were seventh graders at the time of the study to the same cohort in the city as a whole and both to national norms. In Table 6-1 which shows reading scores, the figures on the top line indicate the national score, expressed as a percentile, below which 90 percent of the Mann students or the city students as a whole fell. At the upper end, it is easier to think of it as the score above which ten percent of the students fell. Thus ten percent of the Mann students scored at or above the 96th percentile in reading on their fifth grade tests, while 10 percent of the students citywide scored only above the 80th percentile. Similarly, 25 percent of Mann students scored at or above the 89th percentile nationally on these reading tests while 25 percent of students citywide only managed to score above the 60th percentile. At the other end of the scale 10 percent of Mann students scored below the 33rd percentile on a national scale, while 10 percent of students citywide scored below the 6th. The figures for mathematics are similar to those for reading.

If one looks at these figures remembering that Mann's program was designated as one for the gifted and talented and that it selected children for special capabilities, one can see the glass as either half full or half empty. Mann's student body clearly was not all academically advanced. Slightly less than a fourth of them would have qualified for the traditional superior ability program with its cutoff at the ninetieth percentile. If this student body was exceptional, it must in most cases have been a matter of non-academic talents which these tests were not designed to measure. One does have to ask how this group could be labeled "gifted and talented" and what they could be said all to have in common.

But if one takes a different comparative referent and compares Mann's student body to the city as a whole--or to student bodies at Adams and Owens which reflected the city or were slightly weaker--then Mann's student body does look gifted. Three quarters of the Mann students score above the national median, while three quarters of the students citywide score at or below the 60th or 62nd percentile. Thus the top three quarters at Mann scored almost as well as the top quarter of the city as a whole and conversely, the lowest three quarters of the city as a whole had skills comparable to the lowest quarter at Mann, with much more concentration at the lowest end of that spectrum. Thus, if Mann's student body was not gifted, it was clearly superior in academic achievement to the students of the city as a whole and the students at the other two schools.

Table 6-1

Comparison of Horace Mann and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading at the End of Grade Five, Spring 1978

	Horace Mann	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	96	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	89	60
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	74	33
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	51	16
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	33	6

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 6-2

Comparison of Horace Mann and Heartland Citywide Students' Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics at the End of Grade Five, 1978

	Horace Mann	Citywide
90% score at or below national percentile rank of	94	80
75% score at or below national percentile rank of	87	62
50% score at or below national percentile rank of	72	39
25% score at or below national percentile rank of	54	20
10% score at or below national percentile rank of	41	8

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

The same dual perspective applies to the heterogeneity or homogeneity of Mann's student body. For a school for the gifted, Mann encompassed a good deal of heterogeneity, since it appears that a tenth of the student body were working below grade level or at least with shaky grade level skills, especially in the crucial subject of reading. But if one compares the student body once again to the city and to the other schools, the students appear to cluster in the top half of the national distribution, with a small tail going below the national median and not so very far below it. The city as a whole and the other two schools recruited from the total range of achievement levels with some concentration at the low end of the range, but a less intense concentration than Mann's concentration at the high end of the range. Compared to the other schools and to the city, then, Mann was quite homogeneous.

Racial differences. Though there were no public records of scores by race, according to several teachers, most of them black, there were noticeable differences in the overall abilities of black and white students. Black teachers were upset that some black students were admitted who had neither the skills nor abilities to keep up with their classmates. They were left behind at psychological cost to themselves and with implications for racial stereotyping. Further, capable black students were not represented in as great a proportion as these teachers felt sure was present in the city.

One white who had been involved in recruitment in the first years of the gifted and talented program at Peach Street had a partial explanation for this pattern. Students were not enrolled in the program without a parental transfer request. In those early years staff had gone through all the teacher nominations and had arranged them in order of the apparent skill of the children within categories of race and gender and then called parents asking if they would like to transfer their child or at least to talk to the school staff and tour the school. According to this informant almost all the whites had accepted this invitation and enrolled their children. But blacks whose children were succeeding were much more hesitant to take a child out of the neighborhood, away from a successful setting, away from a sibling, etc. Social class as well as race were probably at work here, since there were fewer middle class blacks. Working class families are traditionally more reluctant to send their children far from home. Two of the persons involved with the selection process, one of them black, said they sometimes had actively to search for students with qualifications for the program especially among black males.

Another process which was presumed to be at work here was a reluctance of teachers and principals to nominate their strongest students for removal to another school. Furthermore, because the system kept records of school test scores by race, though they did not release them to the public, capable minority students were particularly helpful to the record of a school. Schools were understandably reluctant to send them away to Peach Street or Mann which were perceived elsewhere to have more than their "share" of such students.[13]

While the black teachers were very direct in talking about the individual and social problems created by lower skills among the black children as a group, whites rarely mentioned racial differences. The differences therefore lent an unspoken racial undercurrent to their protests about the lack of a truly gifted and talented student body with which to work.

Teachers' Perceptions of the Student Body

Teachers spoke a good deal of their perceptions of the student body since most considered this character crucial to the kind of program they could run. A socially shared definition of its characteristics grew up among the core of former Atlantic teachers and those of the new teachers who became assimilated to their group. One of these new teachers described the student body in her interview in a way which expressed the main thrust of this definition--including some of its contradictions.

> The whole range of abilities is here. There's very little difference between our student body, as I perceive it, and any other middle school that I know of. We do have kids who have outstanding talents in areas of music and art, but I don't see that in any greater proportion than I did anywhere else that I have ever taught [a lower class black and a middle class white high school in Heartland.]
>
> Perhaps the basic skill areas, like the reading levels, are generally higher, probably, than some other places. We still have kids that are first and second grade level in a few cases, but those are usually the Learning Disabled kids who are mainstreamed for only part of their program. I have a few [seventh grade] kids that read at the 4th or 5th grade level, but those are fairly rare too. Most of the kids are within a grade level or so of their current assignment, which is really helpful as far as preparing materials.
>
> I don't see many great differences in any other way. Probably the only other major difference is that I have found much more parental interest and involvement here which is very helpful because if you have a kid who's having some kind of difficulty--behavioral or otherwise--I have found that the parents are very responsive and very supportive. You can get to them and they will respond with some kind of action that supports what I'm trying to do in the classroom. That I've never found to the degree that I find it here, which is very helpful.
>
> As far as the kids themselves I don't see a great many differences. Probably because of that parental interest, their behavior is generally better. I don't see the fighting for example. Oh, there're verbal kinds of things. But not the physical fighting that I've seen other places. But in the classroom--the quality of work that they do--

> the whole range is there. There are kids who could be doing beginning college work all the way down to the kids who can barely cope with what we're doing on a day to day basis.

This teacher summarized her comments by saying that the distribution of students seemed to be a normal curve with a clustering in the middle and a few at either end.

Now, this description clearly does not tally with the fifth grade test scores of the students which show them to be clustered in the top half nationally and the top quarter for the city--where this teacher had had all her previous experience--though there was a small tail whose scores were below the national median. Social consensus on such a description suggests that there was a social purpose to the misperception. It was consistent with the implicit claim of many teachers that a traditional secondary program was appropriate to what they claimed was a traditional student body.

This teacher also expresses a contradiction which was typical of many. She expressed rather more forcefully than most the homogeneity of the group in saying they were mostly right around grade level, making planning materials easy, but she contradicted this statement at the end saying that the total range of abilities was present. The more common form of this contradiction came in the form of a claim that there were few children really able at academic work (or in the teacher's particular non-academic area) and a complaint that it was difficult to work with really gifted or talented students in a group so heterogeneous that it became necessary to aim the curriculum at the middle neglecting the very able and (much less often mentioned) leaving some behind.

Since the students' nonacademic talents are more difficult to measure, it is difficult to know whether the general claim that the student body did not exhibit more than its share of such talent is correct. However, the underestimation of the students' academic talents and the statement by the music teacher--who was an outsider to the faculty culture--that there was a real concentration of musical talent suggests that the faculty's assessment should at least be taken with some skepticism. (It is also possible that in this predominantly middle class or upwardly mobile group, musical talent had been better developed than talent in art or physical activities.)

Like the other schools Mann did not group students on the basis of academic skills--except in offering pre-algebra and algebra classes to the ablest math students and in an apparent self-selection of able students to the French immersion group which was kept together at least two periods a day from their last year at Peach Street onwards. Some of the teachers' statements about the difficulty of teaching such a heterogeneous group seemed to reflect resentment at the ban on tracking--though only one or two teachers made this connection explicit. Others did comment in close proximity to their complaints on heterogeneity that there had been ability grouping at Atlantic which made their task easier. The teachers' reluctance to be explicit on this topic seemed to express a reluctance to comment on matters involving race unless they were asked directly about them. The teachers who complained most about heterogeneity were for the most part white teachers who responded to questions about socializing among children of different races with an exaggerated view of their separation and the comment that it was "natural". Thus there was an undercurrent of resentment toward desegregation in resentment toward the diversity of the student body. Some of these teachers may have seen the conception of the program as stressing enrichment rather than acceleration for the academically able as a mere smokescreen for watering it down in order to accomodate black children.

There seemed to be one more unspoken agenda at work in the majority of the faculty's understatement of the students' abilities and achievement. Some of them, like the teacher quoted, constructed a model of the 'typical' school which was quite unrealistic in a city where a glance at the testing profiles of middle schools showed glaring differences. They spoke, as did two teachers quoted in the context of the definition of the gifted and talented program of good teaching as a universal practice applicable in any context. Most of these teachers were from Atlantic Avenue. They were responding in part to suggestions by parents and administrators that because of the change in student bodies they should seriously revamp their teaching approaches. They denied the need for this.

But other teachers, including some from Atlantic, did talk about the special demands of the Mann student body. Many of these stressed the difficulty of finding enough materials and curricular ideas to keep students busy at the fast rate at which they consumed both. They suggested, in other words, that this student body took much more effort and thought in the teaching task than students with whom they had had prior experience. The silence of the majority on variations in teaching with different student bodies and their denial of a high level of capacity in the Mann student body suggests in part an unwillingness to give social recognition to this challenge.

In order to understand this reluctance, in order to understand the kind of program which these teachers actually put into practice, and in order to understand the relationship of the teachers with the other participants in the school, including students, it is necessary to consider the common culture which the faculty developed.

FACULTY CULTURE

The Tone of Interaction

There is an atmosphere to relationships in any school, and at Mann the atmosphere was shot through with tension and criticism. I was unprepared for this as I entered the school as the last of the three. Teachers and administrators at the other two schools looked at Mann with envy as having an easier job than theirs because its student body was so much more select. But having generally capable students who were "95 percent nice kids" did not generate either ease or harmony at Mann. Rather its staff was clearly the most tense and discontent of the three schools. It is important, however, that it is being compared to the other two magnet schools in this statement. One older teacher with experience at several schools in the system, said he thought Mann probably had less griping and tension than most. And most teachers from schools other than Atlantic found their overall experience at Mann an improvement on their former situations, though they tended to stress relationships with and among children in making favorable comparisons.

Still, there were clear signs of tension which ran throughout the life of the Mann faculty. Faculty meetings were constrained affairs where Mr. Mueller's attempts at setting a pleasant tone with humor were met with stony silence. Once when a meeting ended when I had not anticipated that it would, the room was empty before I could lean over to pick up a purse and tuck my handouts in my folder. More teachers seemed uneasy when I came to observe them following students through their days than had seemed to be so at the other two schools. Judging from the reaction of the students, a few changed their normal approach.

There was a formality pervasive in relations within the school. Where the Owens faculty argued in public but also laughed together, the Mann faculty restrained their emotions and treated one another formally, suppressing most of their feelings except in small groups of trusted persons. Not all of this style was generated by the faculty. Some of it doubtless reflected Dr. Joliet's formal tone and his expectations expressed in his use of last names and his generally distant style.

The building itself with its marble floors, high ceilings, and bright light colors was aesthetic but formal. It was large and cold, except for the sunlight which its many windows admitted. The Mann faculty for the most part dressed in a similar way. They dressed up; most men wore jackets or at least ties and the women were carefully co-ordinated skirts and tops or skirted suits. Their appearance was elegant, but not relaxed.

Variations. There was not a single shared culture in this faculty. Rather there was a fairly complex social structure with correspondingly varied cultural views. The social structure was composed of ties within departments, ties within grade level teams, and informal social ties related to race, gender, and length of service as well as to the formal links of department and team.

The large group which had come from Atlantic Avenue was the core of the faculty and the most cohesive. But within this group there was a strong split between white and black teachers and a more subtle separation between men and women. The white men from Atlantic seemed to form the core of the faculty's character, to hold the dominant views in the most forceful form and to set the tone of interaction both with the administration and the students. There were a few new teachers who were closely assimilated to their view of the school. These teachers, like the Atlantic faculty, had been assigned to the school involuntarily and did not like being there. The white women from Atlantic were the group closest to the core group, but there was a good deal of variation among them and some of them disagreed with the men over crucial issues. The black teachers were diverse but were nonetheless set apart as a group. Then there were teachers who were new to the school and quite happy to be there. These teachers for the most part found their social home in small groups of others like themselves or remained isolates. They did not make common cause as a social force.

The structure of departments and teams overlapped. The social core of the white men from Atlantic lay in the single department of which I have already spoken which was staffed by a closeknit group of white men. They held an educational philosophy which stressed formal secondary education centered around the traditional subject and acceleration for able students. This group was very angry with the administration. They were sprinkled through the various teams and had a good deal of influence on their functioning and on the perspective they formed.

Teachers who taught non-academic subjects, which the school started calling "fine arts and vocational education" and which could have been called the areas of "talent", did not have either the scheduled hour for, or the social support of, a team. Since many individuals were their whole departments, or were so with one colleague, they also did not have the support of a department. They led a relatively isolated life and were much less visible among the faculty than the academic teachers on teams. Many of the new teachers and teachers who held different views on the school--including the black teachers[14]--were in these positions; so their marginality in terms of perspective was both supported and perpetuated by their structural position.

The white women from Atlantic were mostly on teams. They did not have a core social group as the men did, but there were social groups among them such as some close pairs in departments and a flexible group including some newcomers who often ate lunch together in the teachers' lunchroom. There was some solidarity among the women as a whole through overlapping pairs and triangles which formed a base for an alternative perspective to the men's. However, they were not aware of its being a women's perspective, or at least no one ever spoke in those terms. Several of these women concentrated their efforts and perspectives around finding ways to implement distinctive program ideas within the school's constraints and some tried to lead teams to form a cooperative entity capable of taking initiative and accomplishing common tasks. The curriculum coordinator was part of this group as well. They experienced considerable frustration in these efforts not only from administrative constraints and inefficiency described above, but from what they described as the negativism of particular other teachers.[15]

The effects of the tense and critical perspective which dominated the faculty culture came in three forms, in the investment of a great deal of energy in struggling with the administration, in an unwillingness to undertake initiatives to modify the program in ways which were possible even under the logistical and administrative constraints of the situation, and in formal rather distant relations with the majority of students. But in order to understand these effects it is necessary to look at more of the sources of faculty culture.

The Crucial Issue of Pride

The faculty culture of Mann seemed to revolve around the issue of pride and its maintenance. The faculty, especially those from Atlantic, and especially the men, had suffered an unusual set of rebuffs to their pride, and much of their energy seemed to flow into maintaining that pride in the face of those assaults. I have already suggested that the position of the middle school within the larger Mann structure assaulted the pride of all the teachers. Some parents' attacks upon the program especially in the first year and a half added to this tension. Coincidentally, the men in the core department and many of the others as well were in their late thirties and early forties, at an age when they were reaching the last stages of eligibility for administrative promotion and facing a future as classroom teachers. That they would be forever subject to taking orders was underscored by Dr. Joliet's peremptory use of hierarchy. This was an explicit problem for Mr. Corski when he was not given the position of curriculum co-ordinator for the program's second year. Other teachers with administrative ambitions, aware that he was a hardworking and able teacher, must have found that experience disheartening for their own prospects.

For this group to have spoken of hurt pride would only be to suffer a deepening of hurt. The women were more able to speak of buffets to their pride because such statements are more acceptable in women and because they were probably for the most part less deeply threatened. Thus pride became an unspoken issue for the men especially, a current underlying their attitudes toward the functioning of the school which could not be directly expressed but which colored everything else. To understand the full extent of the force behind it, it is necessary to look once more at the history of the program at Atlantic Avenue.

The legacy of Atlantic Avenue. The teachers who came from Atlantic Avenue had been there ten years or more, with only one or two exceptions. As the school had contracted naturally and then radically in the first year of the gifted and talented program, the youngest faculty had been excessed and transferred to other schools. Those who came to Mann thus had long experience at Atlantic as an inner city school. That experience seems in itself to have constituted an assault to the teachers' pride.

Few of the teachers said much to me about it, and they did not use the term which other teachers quoted the white teachers as using regularly among themselves, "working in the pits". But three white men and one white woman did describe the school as they had experienced it with some vividness. They described such practical problems as a high rate of absenteeism which made constant review a necessity and the difficulty of working with students who might be seventeen or eighteen in a junior high school class. But they also spoke of the antagonism of the children. The woman who spoke of it saw it in stark contrast to Mann:

Interviewer: What was Atlantic like before the change?

Ms. Rohr: That's a funny thing. This is just like you've died and gone

> to heaven. I don't understand why a teacher would moan and groan and complain and say that it is such hell here.
>
> I spent ten years at that hell hole, and there is just no describing it unless you've taught in an inner city junior high school with seventh, eighth and ninth graders. We had ninth graders that were eighteen years old. In its real heyday, we had two and three fires a day, constant false alarms, horrible vandalism, fights. I couldn't count the number of knives and junk that I saw in my classroom in ten years. I mean there's no comparison. Teacher asaults, you know, teachers knocked in the face and the mouth, in the eyes, and knivings. Two art teachers I know were knifed. I mean, just gross, gross misconduct and horrible, horrible behavior. For a few years there the kids were right off the walls.

This account was consistent with the reputation of the school in the city. It was known as one of the most violent and difficult of the inner city schools.

However, some of the black teachers who spoke about it spoke in much kinder terms. One compared the two student bodies this way:

> I don't think there's too much difference. The kids at Atlantic had a lot to offer just as these kids do. Their background may have meant that they hadn't developed it as much as these have, but I think all kids are gifted and talented.

It seemed clear between the lines of this teacher's total interview that she thought the children in the former Atlantic program to have been underestimated and the children in the gifted and talented program to be overestimated. Other black teachers conveyed the same message, also indirectly. (White teachers did mention that there had been some capable and cooperative students at Atlantic.)

I heard from a few white and black teachers that there had been a marked split between the black and white teachers at Atlantic. It seems that relationships had developed in such a way that black teachers who felt more sympathy with the students were not able to communicate either that sympathy or suggestions for styles of interaction which would bring out the students' better behavior. (One white teacher said she had received only one piece of advice from a black teacher in ten years, and that was never to touch a child, advice which turned out to be an overgeneralization as experience gradually taught her how to build relationships.)

As a number of studies have found (Hargreaves, 1967; Metz, 1978b; National Institute of Education, 1978; Rutter et al., 1978), the policies of individual teachers and whole schools shape the behavior of children in such a way that student bodies with similar social characteristics act differently depending upon the class and the school. It is frequently the case that deepening cycles develop so that negative or positive relations tend to feed upon themselves; both adults and students contribute increasingly to them.

The student body at Williams Annex did not differ significantly from that at Atlantic except that it was smaller and all seventh graders. Mrs. Michaels late in our acquaintance described the main Williams building in terms which made relationships sound rather similar to those at Atlantic. At Williams Annex, however, a combination of her insistence that teachers display a positive attitude toward students, of the recruitment of a young and fresh faculty whose attitudes she could mold without having to undo the effect of previous experience, and of the small size of the building and the personal acquaintance built up by the multi-unit approach all contributed to a positive cycle of relationships similar to that described in Chapter Four for Adams.

At both Williams Annex and Atlantic the relations teachers built up with students tended to become self-re-enforcing as the faculties developed collective pictures, based upon their experiences, of the students and of the relationships with them which were possible. At both, faculty cultures emerged with deep seated assumptions about the characteristics of students, about the student-teacher relationship, and about conditions necessary for effective teaching. These cultures carried over, unexamined, to affect the teachers' response to the new students and the new program when the schools became magnet schools.

Two of the men from Atlantic spoke of the ways in which their experiences at Atlantic with antagonism from the students had led to their own emotional withdrawal. One said:

> If kids are all the time fighting in class and calling you names and so on, when it's time for your prep period or you go home at night, you don't spend your time thinking up nice little activities for those children. It's sort of as though--well I guess every child deserves a good education--but it's as though, "If you don't respect me and what I have done for you, why should I do this for you?"

Another white man described the effects of the experience on his sense of himself far more explicitly.

Mr. Selig: At Atlantic I probably didn't smile at all. Maybe until February. And you really almost had to do that for survival.... Teachers didn't have much authority. After a while you really lost your sense of self-worth, you really did.

Interviewer: Tell me some more about that.

Mr. Selig: Well I just simply felt that--I realized I had a family and that they had to be fed. I really hadn't been trained for

> anything else besides teaching. And I simply went to work every day. Tried to do the best I could and it really didn't bother me whether a student got this or a student got that. It didn't bother me; I'd just go and do my job.

Later on in the interview he said:

> Mr Selig: At Atlantic you almost think that what the kids are doing to you is a personal affront. You know you tend to get extremely angry. It takes a long time to get over that. To realize the kids aren't really angry at you. They really aren't striking out at you as an individual. It takes a long time.... Cause I'm telling you a lot of times you can go home and start questioning your own values. You start stereotyping. It's really shameful how you lose all that self-respect and idealism.

This teacher was unusual both in the distance he expressed in analyzing his experiences at Atlantic and in his willingness to speak of the effects of those experiences on his own sense of self-worth. Mr. Selig was not close to the other men from Atlantic socially, and he spoke much more positively of his own experience at Mann and of the total situation there than did most of his colleagues. With less distance on the experience ,the other teachers, especially the men, seem to have carried its effects on their sense of self-worth longer than did Mr. Selig.

At Atlantic they had felt that it was not possible to teach effectively given the students they had. According to some Atlantic teachers they had also complained about the principals as impediments to their efforts, including the latest one (to whom they looked back more fondly after he was not transferred with the program). To hold that the students and administration made effective teaching impossible protected them from the burden of self-doubt, and preserved their sense of professional pride even when events did not go well in the classroom. To hold that selection of students and the administrative position of the middle school at Mann made it impossible for them to engage in distinctive gifted and talented teaching protected them from their own or others' criticisms in the same way.

The selection of teachers for the gifted and talented program. However, the Atlantic teachers did not develop and carry self-doubt into the new program only on their own initiative. They were given a big boost in this direction by the way in which the gifted and talented program was established and by the attitudes of administrators and parents associated with it toward them.

In the first year of the program, with only seventy students in the gifted and talented program, only a small number of faculty were needed. One teacher in each of the core subjects of English, math, social studies, and science taught all the classes in that subject. There were teachers for art, music, foreign language, home economics, and shop as well. The rest of the faculty taught the neighborhood eighth graders that first year. The bases of selection of the teachers for the gifted and talented program were never announced. Though three department chairpersons and another teacher, the only black, with high seniority and experience teaching high ability classes were the ones selected, the process still seemed invidious.

It appeared more invidious because three of the teachers for special subjects--foreign language, music, and art--were hired from outside the school on a part time basis. I encountered one of them who left the program elsewhere and interviewed him. He spoke in strong terms of the split in the faculty between those chosen and not chosen and the tension it created:

> It was a very strange way they [chose the teachers]. Very strange. I can't even tell you how weird it was to be there because the other teachers naturally were very resentful of the whole idea that there were gifted and talented teachers. There were teachers for the gifted and talented and that was a big struggle the whole year.
>
> [He had applied for the job which required being split between Atlantic and another school.] And the woman who was there did not apply for a transfer. She just assumed that she would be there the next year. Then when they could not give her a full schedule and I had already applied for the job, I got the position. So another thing that happened [was that] many of the people were not happy that she lost her job and I replaced her. So I had all kinds of little things like the AV teacher saying, "You know I don't know how she ever lost that job." So you can imagine the resentment that built up.

Not only were some teachers chosen for the gifted and talented program and some not, but the children and teachers in the program were kept carefully segregated from the rest of the school. The math laboratory and art teachers assigned to the regular children were expected to leave the premises when the gifted and talented children came in to be instructed by their own teachers, though they might help in set up or clean up out of the presence of the children.

These arrangements caused considerable bad feeling among the faculty. They joked about "gifted and talented teachers" but even two years later, when some teachers looked back and said the tensions over the issue were a little petty, there was an edge to their comments. And some still spoke with suppressed anger and hurt over their non-selection for the positions in the first year of the program two years later.

Though the teachers joked that year and later about "gifted and talented teachers", they never joked about "inner city teachers". But just as the characteristics of gifted and talented students may be socially transferred to their teachers, so may those of poorly performing low status children. Those who were not "gifted and talented teachers" remained "inner city teachers" for one more year. The question had to arise in their minds and those of others whether they were not perhaps well-suited in that role. These social pressures, combined with the white teachers' lack of sympathy and antagonistic relations with their inner city students, left them with no anchors for professional pride.

Making these tensions even greater was an outpouring of outside attention showered on the teachers selected for the gifted and talented students. Mr. Linski from the central office, who had been the midwife of the gifted and talented program, met with them formally and informally so frequently that he was present at least once a week. Teachers from Peach Street were brought over to consult with them. And they had training from university staff members as well. (During the spring, in preparation for the following year, other staff could take a Saturday inservice class through the university extension division on a voluntary basis.)

The faculty who taught in the gifted and talented program also were those who received the attentions of the media and of the parents. However parental attention was a mixed blessing. Some parents could and did imply that even the chosen ones were also suspected of not being good enough for their children.

One of the most conscientious of the teachers told the following tale of her experience that year at Atlantic Avenue:

> A parent said that she was not only going to take me to the administration [because she did not like her child's grade], she was going to take me all the way to the board and that I wasn't fit to be a teacher. And it was ironic because at the beginning of the year she complimented me and said that her child was enjoying the course and that she thought it was a well-taught course. I was just doing fine. But then as soon as her child was not performing well, she assumed that it was the teacher's fault and not the child's fault. It really shook me up as an experience more than almost anything else had. But I was just determined to stick with it. I felt that I was not being unprofessional. I was not doing it--giving that grade--out of motives of vengeance. I was on solid ground.

The continuing stigma of Atlantic Avenue. The teachers were not inventing problems when they felt slighted for not being selected for the original staff. Many vocal parents continued to question the qualifications of the Atlantic staff for the program. Their questioning came both from the label and associations of the teachers' prior experience and from students' experiences in these teachers' classes as the parents judged them.

These feelings were openly expressed in the meetings of the committee which was to consider criteria for a new site for the building in the fall of the second year at Mann. The committee consisted of about eight parents and was chaired by an aggressive executive from one of the city's elite businesses. The counselor sat in to represent the staff and at most meetings Mr. Linski, the central office guardian of the gifted and talented program, was present. Parents openly criticized the staff in harsh terms, seemingly unmindful of any effects this might have on the counselor's feelings or any news she might take back to the school. According to one teacher they had spoken just as harshly at PTO meetings with several teachers present in the first year.[16]

Mr. Linski spoke cautiously but in sympathy with the parents. Some parents clearly wanted the committee to find a way to move the school so that the staff would not necessarily travel with it.[17] Mr. Linski explained the process of union rules and the difficulty of making such a move unless the building could be closed. He explained that some persons at central office had hoped that the move from Atlantic Avenue would leave the staff who had not taken the inservice course in gifted and talented education--for the most part those he also considered least well-suited to the program--behind as the building was closed and they had no "training or experience" to qualify them for a position in a new school. But because the board phrased the move as a "transfer" the staff moved intact.

Faculty Interpretation of Administrative Pressures for Innovative Teaching

The immediate administration at Mann expressed a negative picture of the Atlantic teachers as a body. Mr. Mueller spoke to me of the dulling of the desire to teach and of the lack of effort needed at Atlantic so that these teachers had to be reawakened to the zest of helping children learn and accustomed to the heavier load of preparation meeting their needs entailed. He was probably more tactful in his expression of this process to me than he always was to the teachers. Some of the black teachers spoke explicitly of resenting the picture of Atlantic which the administrators put forth. White teachers were silent on this issue, though several in the core department described their departmental program at Atlantic with pride. But the deep resentment and daily criticism of the administration by these core Atlantic teachers suggested they shared the defensive feelings of the black teachers at least with regard to themselves if not with regard to their former students.

Therefore, the administration's efforts--during the year of the study primarily Mr. Mueller's efforts--to get the faculty to develop a distinctive program became entangled with the issue of implicit condemnation of their past performance and their qualifications as teachers. The core of Atlantic teachers rejected the appeal for a distinctive program along with the image of themselves that came with it. Some of the black teachers responded with the same dynamic though in the context of what they perceived to be a racially biased definition of children's capacities and learning needs, and of a racial bias against themselves.[18]

The image which the parents and administrators held of the Atlantic teachers was accurate in some cases. Some of the teachers clung to old texts which did not challenge the students and ran them through mechanical exercises while they maintained as much personal and intellectual distance as they could. Some were unmistakably arranging their teaching to minimize effort. But others, including some of those who were angriest, seemed to work hard at their teaching and to be lively presences in the classroom. Some worked with children at lunch on their own time. Others worked hard with their ablest children, though they seemed to give less effort and attention to the more nearly average. Thus effort and general teaching ability within the classroom were not homogeneous among the Atlantic teachers. Nor were they highly correlated with attitudes toward the administration and the program. The latter seemed to be more determined by social ties and common past experience.

It is important though that none of the core of Atlantic teachers strayed far from a classic secondary approach to teaching, and that they agreed upon acceleration, subject-centered teaching, and departmental organization of the school as a proper approach. They were therefore out of sympathy with the systemwide middle school plan including grade level teams and with activities which would take them away from traditional (though possibly dynamic) subject matter instruction in the direction of enrichment--except perhaps as an "extra".

It is not entirely clear whether this philosophical conservatism about pedagogy came in response to pressures from the program's partial definition in terms of enrichment or whether it was an attitude of long standing. It seemed more likely to have been an attitude to which the teachers had clung as an ideal they could not reach and an anchor for their identities through their battles with the students at the old Atlantic. In any case, it blended with the general resistance of the core of Atlantic teachers toward the administration to make them unwilling to take many of even the small steps toward a more flexible curriculum and teaching approach which were possible within the Mann setting.[19]

The resistance of the core of Atlantic faculty to developing a program which was distinctive or departed from a traditional junior high school pattern was most evident in the functioning of the teams. Two of the teams had two members who were vocally negative in response to any proposal brought not only by the administration but by other team members. In various ways they sometimes flatly refused to participate in activities requested by the administration. In one of these teams the two most negative members ceased coming regularly to meetings. The other team disbanded in practice, after a period of sitting together in the room without really meeting, though they would meet occasionally when their leader would call them for some special purpose.

In both of these teams there were also members who were passive, not criticizing but also not contributing much. In both there were also members who were willing to co-operate and members who put a great deal of thought and effort into trying to find ways to bring the team to work constructively and to forward certain specific projects. The latter were a minority on each team, however, and thus for the most part unsuccessful.

The third team had only one of the core of old Atlantic teachers and indeed only one other teacher with experience at Atlantic. With active leadership from a woman who was not from Atlantic it managed to mount some projects and to meet regularly. But many of its projects did not affect the core of daily efforts. For example they planned and raised money for an ambitious overnight field trip for the whole grade. At the time that I observed their meetings they were taken up with receiving and counting money students brought in from their selling efforts and in considering what should be done about children who were causing disciplinary difficulties. They had therefore found ways to be active as a team which did not disturb their daily patterns very much.

As this discussion of teams suggests, the core of teachers who were the most critical of the school and resistant to change were in numbers a minority in the faculty. But they exerted disproportionate influence because they were assertive in forwarding their perspective and vocal in proclaiming their interpretations. And because they were scattered through the teams, they held a kind of informal veto power over the ability of those teams to develop co-operative activities within the team or to mount common projects. They also used the teams as a forum to display their interpretation of the school's efforts and the criticisms they held of various policies and persons. Some of the new teachers were converted to their perspective in this context.

The efforts and directions of the teams became a very direct and concrete bone of contention between faculty and administrators, most proximately Mr. Mueller. From the point of view of the members of the teams who resisted administrative requests and common efforts, they were responding realistically to the way the teams had been treated by the administration. Each team, but especially the two most in conflict, had stories to tell of common plans they had made which had been vetoed by Mr. Mueller and of others left to languish for lack of administrative actions necessary for their implementation.

When I attempted to track down the specifics of these complaints with administrative participants and various knowledgeable third parties, the tales became complex and varied. But it did seem clear in each case that there was room for differences of interpretation and that neither the teachers nor the administrators were acting in ways which led the other to feel they were doing their best to contribute to the common effort.

The resisting team members claimed there was no way the team could carry through with plans it made in such a climate; so there was no point in making any. When the teams and departments were asked to talk about what they were doing and could do which was distinctive for a gifted and talented school these teachers argued that they were being asked to make up for a lack of administrative planning and initiative--rather than seeing this request as an opportunity for them to take initiative or to exercise autonomy.

The administration for its part found their suspicions confirmed that the teachers, especially the Atlantic teachers, were unwilling, unable, or both to work with energy and imagination to create a distinctive program. Cooperation would have to be demanded by the exercise of hierarchical coercion, it seemed, because it was not spontaneously forthcoming.

In other words, blame became a major issue in the relations of teachers and administrators. As it was tossed back and forth it created a cycle where each party was less and less willing to do more to be helpful to the other than it felt formally constrained to. Each withdrew support from the other and projected suspicion and criticism of the other's competence or good faith.

The teachers who were trying to bend their efforts toward specific program activities for the most part did not have high visibility or either formal or informal positions of influence with the other teachers or the administration. They therefore felt they were working with little muscle to influence the situation, except in those cases where they had very well delimited responsibilities and authority to organize that small sphere of activities themselves. The curriculum co-ordinator was part of this group, but since she had no administrative authority her efforts were dependent on the independent willingness of teachers to carry out her ideas.

It is important here that both the teachers who resisted efforts to get them to develop program in teams and the administrators who pressed them to do so were acting out of a social context of pressures--of a kind which are probably common in schools undergoing either desegregation or educational innovation, let alone both. The teachers felt their pedagogical philosophy violated in the replacement of departments with teams. Further their departments had provided social bases of solidarity and in the case of the department at the center of resistance also a basis for high status within the school. They now were supposed to give up that comfortable solidarity and status for the sake of an innovative program about which they had serious educational doubts.

The administrators had responsibility to see that the innovation was in fact implemented, that something distinctive happened in the school which would satisfy parents, students, and the central office. The substitution of teams for departments had been mandated for all middle schools systemwide; they were obligated to implement it. In a magnet school, a search for distinctive activities was needed to keep students and parents content. Dr. Joliet and Mr. Mueller therefore felt compelled to use the full powers of their offices when teachers resisted these activities. And they reacted in a humanly understandable way when they became personally angry at some of the teachers, especially when these teachers expressed their unhappiness with rejection and bitterness directly toward administrators and about them to other teachers.

Some of the same processes were at work at Adams in resentment of the principal's peremptory use of the powers of her office to enforce the IGE innovation and actively to encourage various extra activities to get the children acquainted across racial lines. Probably Mann is typical of desegregating schools or schools where innovations have been imposed from without in this respect. I spent a week in a desegregated white neighborhood middle school in Heartland for comparison--following three students through class days, talking with teachers, and interviewing the principal. Even in that short time a group of teachers (also predominantly white men in their forties) let me know that there was tension and unhappiness over the character of the student body and the changes that the school was experiencing. The principal made it clear that he had to introduce practices that would facilitate children's becoming acquainted across racial lines by administrative fiat because many teachers were not spontaneously helping.

Racial Divisions

At Mann white adults virtually never mentioned desegregation or racial relations between students. They thought of the school as having its distinctiveness in being a gifted and talented school and did not make any reference to desegregation as a purpose in itself. Race was rarely publicly mentioned except in response to my direct questions. But that did not mean it was an absent issue. I have already suggested that the white teachers' complaints about the diversity of the student body seemed to imply unspoken objections to the presence of poorly performing black children and protest against the policy of heterogeneous academic grouping. Desegregation, then, was seen as a burden to the program which could not be explicitly discussed. It was not seen as part of the school's reason for being, nor were good interracial relations discussed by the white teachers as a formal purpose for the school. (In these patterns the school showed some resemblance to the gifted and talented magnet school described by Rosenbaum and Presser [1978]).

Given the whites' silence on the topic of race, it is necessary to seek indicators of their racial attitudes in statements of the black teachers, in observations of white teachers' behavior, and in statements on race which they made indirectly or in answer to questions.

One indicator of racial attitudes was the racial division evident at Mann among the adults. The Mann faculty was the most racially divided of the three faculties. Black teachers often sat together in faculty meetings and those who came to the lounge for lunch usually sat together with black aides or high school teachers, though the counselor sometimes joined the group of white women who, with variable personnel, always ate at the same table. Some informants said that this separation went back to a very deep split between blacks and whites on the faculty at Atlantic. Some whites attributed it to white resentment of the fact that most black teachers had not joined the teachers' strike three years before. This division was given as a source of tension between blacks and whites at all three schools.

The black teachers' perspective. In any case, there was a greater gulf between the black and white teachers at Mann than at either of the other two schools. The black teachers also agreed in describing not only more tension--and in some cases lack of civility--in their own relations with their white colleagues but more discrimination of a variety of kinds against black children than the teachers at the other schools mentioned.

Although the black teachers I interviewed differed in social background, personality, educational philosophy, and style of organizational participation they collectively gave a rather unified picture of racial relations at the school. Those who identified most closely with the kinds of students who had been at the old Atlantic felt that those children had been pushed aside to make room for the gifted and talented program. They felt that the school was now white territory where it was an oddity to wear their hair in an Afro and where programs on black heroes and black arts had been quietly dropped.

Other teachers were more at home working with a desegregated student body and participating in a school which sought out the most able students. But they agreed with the first group that able black students were sought with insufficient energy and that slower black students suffered as individuals surrounded by abler classmates while they served to reenforce negative racial stereotypes in the minds of other children.

Some black teachers felt that they themselves were not taken seriously and treated as fully competent by other teachers and the administration. Two spoke with resentment of several white teachers ostentatiously throwing out the handout one of them had passed out when presenting her department's program to the whole faculty. Another teacher, whose presentation of her departmental program was scheduled for the end of the year and then dropped by Mr. Mueller, reminded him of the schedule and gave the presentation apparently feeling that it had been slighted. She spoke with a deft double message. She was self-deprecating, repeating what she thought the teachers thought of her and her non-academic subject before laying out the program and its complexity. She closed with an overtly girlish but slashingly sarcastic question to Mr. Mueller, "Did I make many mistakes?"

Black teachers agreed in disapproving of the school's sending out at least one all white competitive team. They also agreed that black children were sent out of class by teachers more than white children and suspended more often. The problem of unequal suspension was accentuated by a policy of "presuspension" which allowed a suspended child to be readmitted before the punishment went on his record if his parents would have a conference on the telephone or in person the first day. Some teachers pointed out that white parents are more likely to be easily reached by telephone during the working day and are more likely to be free to come to school during school hours. (Some even felt that more energetic efforts were made to reach white parents.) Whatever the reasons, they agreed upon the result, that black children much less frequently had their cases closed with presuspension than did white children and so they disproportionately suffered the consequence of having their names listed as suspended on the daily attendance list and having a suspension in their record.

Some of the black teachers spoke of these issues forcefully, indicating they were describing only the tip of the iceberg. Others spoke in a careful and restrained manner. But all brought up some areas where they thought the school created special difficulties for black students or failed to respond to them equably. With different emphases all saw themselves in some degree as champions, or at the least interpreters, for the black children in a setting where such persons were needed.

Some spoke of particular incidents or practices where they thought black children were not given admittance to activities on the basis of their race or where they received less assistance or attention in class. Some also questioned whether all children, but especially black children, were given better grades than they had earned in order to appease parents, with the result that their academic development was undermined by a false sense of accomplishment.[20] But it was only the more militant who spoke of the more extreme incidents, and some of them did so cautiously saying that whites put different interpretations on the events and charged them with "oversensitivity".

As Clement, Eisenhart and Harding (1979) suggest in their careful analysis of some "incidents" in a southern desegregated school, it is often very difficult to know whether behavior that may appear racially motivated in fact is so or not. This difficulty of interpretation can lead either to silence where in fact discrimination is at work or to anger when persons feel themselves unjustly accused of discriminatory acts. Thus, it was very difficult for me to know whether the incidents with children and among the adults were in fact racially motivated or whether there were other explanations.[21] It was the more difficult because blacks raised them only cautiously and whites made no reference to them at all. (Even an all white team which was visible in receiving a collective award at Awards Day was never mentioned by white teachers.)

Despite the racial problems they saw, the black teachers generally thought the children got along rather well with children of another race. "They do better than the adults do," more than one commented.

The white teachers' perspective. When I asked a standard question in the research interview about how well students of different races mixed, all but a few white teachers agreed there was very little conflict or hostility, but that whites and blacks would separate whenever given a chance to pick their own seats in the classroom or when they were in the lunchroom or outside. Many of the white teachers went on to add that they thought such separation natural and inevitable. One of the white men from Atlantic answered the question this way:

Interviewer: Well then a school like this is established in part for desegregation. How would you characterize inter-racial relations?

Mr. Strasser: (Slight hesitation)...I haven't seen any animosity certainly. Any direct hostility. They accept each other. I haven't seen them put each other down because of their race. But by and large they congregate together with their own race. Their close friends are with their own race. And I think

> that's because of background and attitudes and maybe the things they like doing. If you look in the cafeteria, you'll see the tables are almost all separate. They're either white or they're black. And I think that's just the way it is. It's not prejudice. They just pick their friends in that manner within their own race. You can push them together all you want and make them do things together but eventually it will come back to that. And it's the same way when they become adults. If you look at adults I don't have any black friends over to dinner and that's not because I have anything against it, it's just that I wouldn't be comfortable and I don't think they'd be comfortable. The relationships haven't developed in that way.

Other teachers explained that they did not consider it their proper role to encourage students to mix. A teacher of a non-academic subject in whose class students had some opportunity to move around and confer while they worked spoke this way after saying that the races "go their own ways".

Interviewer: Well then in class do they separate there, or do they work together when they are in a working situation?

Ms. Christopher: Some do, some don't. There are some groups of blacks and whites that sit together and there are others who are always in their own groups. I'd say most separate unless you have a seating chart and make them sit together. And I don't do that. I think if they're going to mix it should be voluntary.

A third white teacher, this one from an inner city school other than Atlantic, perceived that when children of different races sit together they develop friendships which extend beyond the classroom. But she said explicitly that she did not "force" integration socially.

> I gave the children their choice the first few days. They could sit where they pleased, and it was basically by race and by gender. All the black boys sat together, all the white boys sat together. The white girls sat together--the black girls sat together. I'm still not forcing integration socially in the classroom. However, there is some mixing because of kids having problems with certain children in certain areas so that I move them to another area. So now...[they] are [more] racially mixed.
>
> If they do sit near each other they tend to become fairly good friends and then they tend to sit together at lunch time also. But unless it's forced at this early age, they simply tend to stay apart as far as I can see. So it almost has to be forced social integration at this point. That they need to sit next to a person and get to know them and find out that they have similar interests.[22]

Not all the white teachers took this position. Some agreed that the students separated by race and thought there should be more activities to mix them up and give them the chance to get acquainted. And some--generally those who saw the school and the character of the whole student body in a more positive light--agreed with the black teachers that they were quite willing to mix and got along well.

It seems reasonable to say that the teachers who explained the children's unwillingness to cross racial lines on the basis of their own similar unwillingness and who would not "force integration" by assigning children of different races to adjacent seats so they could discover common interests displayed some attachment to racial isolation. Several such teachers also spoke of children who preferred friends of another race with slight disapproval.

It seems that students' common patterns of behavior with regard to race were mixed, and therefore open to interpretation. When asked how much children of different races associated, some students said that the student body easily crossed racial lines and others said it didn't. For the most part their generalizations reflected their own behavior. My own visual sweeps in the dining room suggested that the Mann student body mixed better than that at Owens but not as well as that at Adams. There seemed to be a pattern of tables predominantly of one race and sex with a couple of students of a different race and the same sex mixed in. However, on a day in late spring when there was a tornado warning I had a chance to watch the whole student body for the half hour duration of the warning as they talked and played at seats in the dining room. It seemed that interaction within tables with this mixed racial pattern tended to be within races. Pairs or trios who were in the minority race at a table interacted with each other.

The faculty may then be said to have been interpreting an ambiguous stimulus. The majority of whites expected the races to separate and that is therefore what they saw. The black teachers and some white teachers hoped to see the children get along well across racial lines and that is what they saw. Their statements therefore tell us more about faculty predispositions on race than about the students' behavior.

It is significant that teachers who came from neighborhood desegregated middle schools and thus had a concrete comparative referent, were emphatic in saying that racial relations were better at Mann than at these white neighborhood schools. This was true of teachers who seemed both to approve and to disapprove of desegregation. It suggests that mixed as Mann's picture was, it was better than at most of the "ordinary schools".

Faculty Attitudes Toward Students

The attitude of the Mann faculty toward their students was less personal than at the other two schools. Teachers had less to say about students either collectively or individually. All but a few individuals described them in simpler terms, with far fewer details. And the Mann faculty more often treated the child, or the child's nonacademic character, as a matter for experts. Thus, despite Mann's academically and behaviorally select student body and its much less severe problem with receiving difficult children dumped by other schools, it was at Mann rather than the other two schools that I heard the most discussions of individuals as actually or potentially subjects for evaluation for special education programs. And it was at Mann that teachers would mention that students were under the care not just of the counselor but of the school psychologist when I had not asked questions on this topic.

Both the class schedule and activity structure at Mann allowed little time to get acquainted. The faculty's self-definition as a set of subject matter specialists discouraged personal acquaintance between students and teachers. Teachers responded to students more as experts there to give them a special service or to diagnose and refer them than as adults there to come to know them while they helped them develop their skills.

Most of the time the Mann teachers engaged in whole class instruction; so they interacted with the class as an entity and had less opportunity to become acquainted with individuals than did the teachers at either of the other schools. Their classroom demeanor was more formal and distant than that of teachers at the other two schools. Even when the class was working on seatwork either for part of the hour or in the classes which were constructed around individualized work, the Mann teachers staid behind their desks, often correcting student papers. Children raised their hands and asked questions from their seats, or they lined up at the teacher's desk. Only a few teachers circulated among the students stopping to look at their work or to talk with them on a regular basis as they did so. This practice stood in striking contrast to the dominant patterns at Adams and Owens.

THE PROGRAM IN PRACTICE

The program at Mann as it was actually practiced reflected more of the requirements of time and space in the building, the model of the high school program, and the expectations of the majority of faculty for a traditional secondary program than of the pressures from the central office or parents and children from Peach Street for a varied program with enrichment.

The Classroom

The rooms were arranged with the chairs in rows facing the blackboard at the front. Usually the teacher's desk was also in front, though occasionally it was at the back or the side. In only two classrooms were the chairs arranged differently. Both were sixth grade classrooms.

The rooms were bare with little decoration. Rarely was all the bulletin board space used, and rarely was it brightened with colored paper. Those rooms which were colorfully decorated from time to time used displays of the children's homework projects. There were a few exceptions, such as one social studies teacher who used newspaper clippings on the local elections as a theme for study and displayed them profusely around the room.

The classroom routine varied little from class to class or day to day. The normal pattern was for a class to open with the teacher giving an explanation of some new concept or skill either in his or her own words or in concert with a printed explanation in a text. The students would then be given a homework assignment which they were to begin in class. Some would work on it and some would carry on quiet conversations until the end of class. Students with questions would go to the teacher who would be working at his or her desk.

Occasionally this routine would be varied with a film or filmstrip which would take the first part of the period, or even all of it. There would then usually be follow-up with written questions. These might be discussed by the group together or answered privately. In some classes where there were not enough books for children to take them from the room, the first part of the class would be used for silent reading of the text and the last part for discussion of questions on the material. Sometimes, a whole class would go together to the library for a period to use the reference sources for projects on which they were working outside of class.

The homework was generally standardized; every one worked on the same task. The materials used in all the classes were generally standard textbooks and a few supplementary texts. In fields such as social studies or language arts or reading, sometimes the teacher would develop homework assignments which asked the students to write in a particular way about the ideas they had read about.

Non-academic classes such as art, home economics, and physical education did not follow these patterns of activity, but they did follow patterns which are traditional for those classes. In art students worked on standard tasks, with the teacher explaining the task and then circulating among students as they worked. One or two talented students might work separately on a different task. Home economics classes in foods and sewing which I saw worked on collages on nutrition, saw a filmstrip on the use of the sewing machine, or worked on making a garment as the central activity. Physical education classes involved warm up exercises and games. In all of these classes students again worked on a single task, though its details might lead them to some variety in specific activities.

As this description suggests, the outline of the curriculum and the daily activities of the school were that of a traditional junior high school. Students moved together through tasks set for the whole group. There were some differences however. Some of these obtained across the school, others in small pockets.

The first and most consistent of these was the use of long term projects in virtually every class. Students were expected to develop topics and produce projects to reflect their work. In some cases the task here was also standardized, as when math classes were asked to make geometric mobiles or to bring in posterboards bearing collages of containers of standard non-metric sizes translated into metric measures. Sometimes they were nonstandard, as when children could either write or do an artistic project connected in any way to Tom Sawyer. Some drew pictures or made models of riverboats, while others wrote about the Mississippi river or Twain's life. The social studies classes working on the local election collected files of newspaper clippings with comments. Some students put a great deal of energy and originality into these projects, while others invested less.

A second unusual feature of the school came not from its gifted and talented specialty, but from the middle school plan developed for all the schools of the city as they were changed from junior high schools to middle schools. This feature was the thirty minute "exploratory" class. Classes I observed ranged from drama to electronics[23] and from chorus to math games. Most of these involved some kind of active participation on the part of the students, though some, like speed reading, were not qualitatively different from their other classes. Exploratory classes lasted only nine weeks so that students were able to sample a variety of activities if they chose to. They could also stay with some activities like chorus throughout the year if they chose.

In addition to these universal activities which went beyond a traditional approach, the school had a few special programs. There was a program of French "immersion" which continued the experience offered annually to one class in their last year at Peach Street. A single French teacher taught these classes, two for one group of sixth graders and two for one group of eighth graders. This teacher, quoted above, had a more experiential approach to learning than most of the faculty, and was allowed by her subject to develop this philosophy in practice. Thus her language classes on the days I saw them started with discussion of grammatical issues in a traditional fashion except that the conversation was conducted primarily in French. But then the sixth grade presented skits for one another in French and the eighth carried on a heated debate in French on the merits of the recent ill-fated American attempt to rescue the hostages in Iran, a timely topic they chose themselves when asked to pick a subject for discussion.

The latter class was striking not only because the children conversed reasonably capably in French, but because the students animatedly discussed the issue among themselves. I did not see other such discussions, though my sample may have been insufficient; some teachers told me they did conduct discussions in English and social studies classes. But those discussions I saw were better described as recitations where students answered teachers' questions.

However, two social studies teachers (and possibly a third whom I interviewed but did not observe) besides this foreign language teacher did seem to attempt to raise broad issues in their classes. And one of the reading and English teachers seemed to confront students with complex or imaginative questions. (This teacher let students choose from a box of cards setting tasks for a book report. One said, "Assume you are a puppy about to be bought by one of the characters in this novel. Whom would you like to belong to and why?")

There were some teachers, two in math and two in reading, who varied the usual pattern of classroom activity by individualizing their students' work. There was a common set of tasks, but children took them at their own pace. Thus a child could move through the math textbook as fast as he liked, above a required minimum pace. And in reading students were tested, placed on skill levels, and expected to work in kits at their level. Those who moved very fast in these classes might be given some extra tasks beyond those in the text or standard kits.

There were field trips, especially for the sixth grade, where students traveled together and half day absences were least disruptive. Some of these involved a whole grade, some a single class, and some just a few students through a co-ordinating program at the central office. Two social studies teachers broke up the classroom routine with games where teams of students answered factual questions in competition with each other.

Finally, there were frankly accelerated classes in pre-algebra for two groups of seventh graders and in algebra, equivalent to the high school freshman course, for two groups of eighth graders.

In sum, while there were a number of exceptions, the dominant pattern of activity in classes at Mann can be described as one of whole class lectures and recitations with seatwork at standard tasks. Non-academic classes involved more physical movement and more activities than lecture, recitation and writing, but these classes too gave standardized tasks to the whole class and moved through a pre-established single curriculum.

The varied exploratory classes were the major break in this routine. The long term projects, for which most of the work was done at home, provided some opportunities for independent or divergent agendas.

Extracurricular activities might have provided some expansion to the students' experiences. However this program was limited by the fact that there were "late buses" only two days a week, and on days that the high school students also used the facilities after school. Much of this after school activity consisted of intramural sports. Activities such as band and orchestra, and a drama group and newspaper for sixth graders were conducted during exploratory classes in the last class period of the day. There was no large scale activity like the musical play given for the first time at Adams the year I was there and made an annual tradition thereafter.

Adams had dealt with the problem of some children from outlying areas having to leave on yellow buses by rehearsing and working on sets and costumes over the noon hour. At noon Mann did have a science club, and forensics and debate teams sometimes practiced then. Some teachers worked with selected students on quiet projects at noon, and in the winter there was a volleyball tournament in the gym for recreation.

The activities which received the most publicity in the school were academic ones which sent out teams to compete beyond the school. Most of these were based in classes, however. Thus there was a "math track team" which participated in middle school meets at the central office. There were prizes for both individual and team scores. Students participated in a French speaking contest at both the city and state levels. The forensics team and debate teams competed in many meets, and did well, even in competition with senior high schools. The orchestra also entered a citywide competition and won a prize.

Except for the musical groups these activities required academic skills and involved the most able students. They were well supported both with necessary funds and announcements of their accomplishments to the whole school. The administration was proud of these efforts and the teachers directly involved worked hard and with enthusiasm. The teams regularly won prizes in competition.

Curricular structure. This description suggests that for the most part the curriculum at Mann was molded by the prior experience and practice of the teachers, and by the traditional style, emphasis on acceleration, and logistics of the high school. Except for the exploratories which were mandated for the whole school system at the middle school level and the homework projects most students' curricular experience was representative of that in junior high schools with fairly homogeneously able student bodies. There were exceptions in the individual classes I have mentioned.

When one compares the curricular structure at Mann to that at either Adams or Owens, the distinctiveness of the latter two is underlined. At Mann, as in traditional schools, in all but the few individualized classes students were expected to work on common tasks and to move through them together. These tasks were set roughly at grade level, though sometimes higher.[24] Inevitably some students found the work rather easy while others were strained to the limit to comprehend it.

This variety was not easily visible as one observed classes, however, because most teachers dealt with the slower students' incapacities by simply never calling on them in class. One black teacher made this response explicit as she was decrying the fact that such students were recommended and admitted:

> And then there must be teachers and principals who are sending us students as a joke. It's "I'll fix you! I'll send you a really low person!" I don't know how else we could get some of the kids we do who can barely read...[There are more eighth graders like that than seventh graders.]...You end up not calling on those children because you don't want to embarass them in front of the others. They just can't read it. And the punishment they take is just impossible to measure--being among all these children and not being able to do the work. It's a dreadful thing to do to a child.

Most of the time, as this teacher suggests, the slower children became invisible in classes because the teacher did not call upon them. But in some classes one caught a quick glimpse of them. For example, in a sixth grade class early in the year, teacher and student were still learning the extent of the gap between one child and the group:

> Mr. Dietrich had them give the answers to the [math] homework. He called on volunteers and most of them gave the right answer....He called on Randy. Randy was the boy who was sitting in the corner looking pathetic and tuned out [during English class]. Randy didn't know the answer, so Mr. Dietrich explained again what was meant by finding the factors. Randy just looked puzzled. Mr. Dietrich asked the next problem and several hands went up....

The force of a single intellectual agenda in setting an acceptable pace and making every one aware of who could and could not keep up with it became even more evident in an English class in which customary patterns were disrupted by the presence of a substitute. The teacher had apparently left a special lesson for days when he was absent, a play to be read out of some magazines. The substitute read out parts and names of students to read them:

> Both the major characters were black students. The boy was a poor reader. Another black boy who got a smaller part, said when it was assigned, "I can't read." Everybody laughed. After the parts were assigned one of the white girls asked the teacher, "If they're slow readers, will you change the parts?". The substitute said no....He looked around a couple of times as they started to make sure they were actually looking at their scripts and then went over to the teacher's desk and started reading other things. [The poor readers stumbled through their parts, occasionally prompted by other students, for the whole period.]

The students here clearly were not used to poor readers being asked to read aloud. Every one knew who the poor readers were and neither they nor the rest of the class wanted them to perform.

If the poor students were ordinarily left out of the classes to save them embarrassment, some strong students complained in interviews that they were neglected because it was too difficult to give them work suited to their capacities. When asked which of her classes she learned least from, one seventh grader made this problem very explicit:

> That would be English. It's always been one of my better subjects. And I know a lot of that. We had the book in fifth grade. They didn't pass it out to us, but our teacher used some of the things from it. English in the fifth grade was a lot different. We did things like creative writing assignments and I like that. But here we just have a grammar book and we read certain books [novels] and things like that....

> I guess in fifth grade I was in a class where all the kids were at eighth and ninth grade reading levels. I was on a ninth grade reading level. So we really had higher books and things like that. But now we don't have that as much. It's kind of like I went down again.

In short, then, though Mann had much less academic diversity in its student body than the other two schools did, its traditional curriculum allowed it much less flexibility for dealing with the diversity that it did have.

Academic rewards. Mann also had a standard secondary kind of academic reward structure. Students received a grade for achievement and one for conduct. They were graded in the traditional way, on their accomplishments rather than on their progress.

Classroom activity structure. As the description thus far has shown, Mann's activity structure followed the pattern which is traditional in secondary schools. Combined with a unified curricular trajectory, the structure made it difficult for students to work at their own pace as they did at the other two schools. Thus, slow students were either made invisible or exposed to embarrassment as they went through the daily round of classes. Even when the class worked on seat work, they had to make themselves conspicuous by raising their hands or going to wait in line for the teacher to get help with the task, while at the other schools the circulating teacher made students who needed more help less visible. There also teachers who circulated could check on the children who needed help, rather than leaving the initiative to them.

The classroom activity structure affected social relationships quite directly. The physical arrangements of the chairs in rows facing the front of the room underscored the relationship of the class as a single entity to an authority at the front. The teacher spoke or wrote on the blackboard or showed a film, all for the students to absorb. When they did seatwork, the room arrangement suggested they work as individuals, not as groups. However, in most cases a fairly large portion of the class would talk during the time given for seatwork and the teacher who was working on his or her written work would not interfere. Some of these conversations were about work, but many were social.

The arrangement of chairs affected the impact of these conversations on social relations. Any given student had a choice of speaking to any of eight neighbors who were vertically, diagonally or horizontally adjacent. (Students seated at the ends of rows had fewer choices.) In some classes teachers assigned seats and thus scattered former friends about and in some they let students choose their seats near friends. But even where seats were assigned, and in a school where half the students had come from elementary school together, with eight choices, students had a chance to talk with the person they initially found most in common with. Also these conversations were more likely to include only two or three persons as children had to twist, turn, and lean to make contact, while at tables all the students at the table are in some sense socially eligible and physically available for any conversation in which they want to participate. The seating arrangements thus did not foster the development of interracial acquaintance in the way that they did at Adams especially.

Discipline. If my earlier analysis attributing much of the positive and cooperative character of student-teacher relations at Adams and Owens to their flexible curricula, academic rewards keyed to individual effort and progress, and classroom activity structures giving privacy to low performers was correct, then one would expect on the basis of those influences alone to find more disorder at Mann than at either of those two schools. Those influences were somewhat counterbalanced, however, by the formal selection of Mann students for being high performers and their apparent informal selection for getting along well with their teachers.

If one looks at the most formal indicator available, the number of official "yellow cards" used to record the ejection of a student from a classroom for administrative discipline (or sometimes for offenses elsewhere requiring administrative discipline), then the earlier analysis is born out. In May, there were a total of 738 yellow cards on file for middle school students at Mann, an average of 1.64 for each of the 450 children, while at Adams in May there had been 239 or .73 for each of 328 students. (Owens did not use the yellow cards, but rather their own informal blue cards which did not necessarily go in students' files and were not available to be counted.) By this indicator, there was considerably more conflict between teachers and students at Mann than at Adams, despite the lower level of achievement and the rougher backgrounds from which Adams students came.

However, the use of yellow cards reflects teachers' criteria for serious disobedience as well as students' behavior. In my interview with the counselor she spoke of one of her efforts being to get teachers to use a separate counselor referral card, rather than a yellow card, to deal with students who came to class without pencils or other necessary supplies. She also mentioned the fact that black students received a disproportionate number of yellow cards, often for the use of street language or for becoming expressively angry when they thought themselves unjustly accused of some action, patterns which another black would consider less serious and more understandable, according to her, than would some of Mann's white teachers.[25] However, the latter confrontations may be of just the kind that children play a part in instigating when they want to use ejection by the teacher as a means to avoid public display of their skills. It is not clear, then, how much the higher rate of yellow cards at Mann reflected the faculty's unwillingness to deal with students within the classroom as much as at the other two schools and how much it reflected Mann students' greater propensity to be disruptive. Probably some of both influences were involved.

There were other indicators of students' malaise and opposition to the school--most of them expressed out of the sight of teachers--which suggest that the school did indeed have more difficulty in establishing positive relationships between teachers and students and among students than the other two magnet schools, despite their more difficult populations.

I will discuss this issue more in describing students' response to the school.

For the moment, the relative prevalance of yellow cards (though they were given at a much lower rate than in lower class schools described to me by assistant principals and teachers) suggests a tone in classroom interaction. Teachers were ready to punish students severely for infractions as slight as forgetting their pencils or for angry outbursts containing four letter words.

When I came to Mann from the other two schools I was surprised by the amount of teachers' conversation which dealt with discipline of students, as distinguished from more general discussion of students' behavior and character which was common at the other schools as well. At Mann, students (and sometimes whole classes) were characterized as discipline problems and discussed in that context.

It is important here that just as the activity structure of divided tasks affected children at Adams and Owens,it also affected teachers. One restless or angry student is a great deal more disruptive to the teacher's efforts with the whole class amid the kind of activity structure pursued at Mann than amid the kinds used at Adams and Owens. Therefore the same behavior had different effects on the teacher's task in the two settings. The teachers' preoccupation with discipline problems, despite the selected character of the student body, underscores the powerful effect of these differences in activity structure. The differences also reflect the teachers' different cultural definition of their relationship to students in the three contexts, but these cultural definitions were shaped in part by teachers' daily classroom experiences.

That students perceived, or indeed were taught, a formal approach to discipline was evident in a set of posters on bus rules and safety made by sixth graders during the first two months of school and posted on the walls of one classroom. Each poster contained pictures and poems. They described the proper behavior exhorted, but nearly half of the short poems made reference to the yellow cards threatened if the rules were broken.

Like the formal curriculum the common approach to teacher-student relationships in the classrooms seems to have reflected a blend of the teachers' own habits formed at Atlantic and other schools and the tone set for the whole building by the administration. The character of adult-student relations in the school at large was formal and in some ways explicitly ready for students to cause difficulties.

The School At Large

On arriving at Mann, I was immediately struck with the copious resources expended on the maintenance of order in comparison to the other two schools. One of the most visible marks of a heavy priority on good order was the posting of aides and teachers at the junctions of the corridors so that every part of every corridor was under supervision at all times. This supervision used the efforts of several aides or teachers every hour of the day. Two were usually posted just inside the front door. Teachers took attendance every hour, as in most secondary schools, and an aide spent most of every hour collecting the attendance slips from outside the doors.

Bathrooms for high school and middle school children were separate and clearly marked. Early in the year some students were suspended for being in the wrong bathroom to make clear the school's serious intent to separate them. This policy had been instituted in response to the fears of middle school parents about the influence of high school students.

Students were not allowed to go to their lockers during classes and any student in the halls would be accosted by the aides and asked for his or her pass. If he did not show it, he would be told very firmly a second time to do so. At lunchtime after they had eaten, students were to proceed to the gymnasium, to a teacher's room only if they had a pass from that teacher, or to stay in the basement.

These rules were strictly enforced. I was given a locker in which to keep my coat. I also kept my tape recorder for interviews in it. Sometimes I needed to retrieve it before the end of a period so that I could be at the teacher's door at the end of the period before his or her preparation period. In the fall, aides twice saw me go into my locker and sharply told me not to. The second time, I explained I was not a student. The aide informed me that did not matter, lockers were not to be opened during class periods. The teacher with the nearest room also reprimanded me on another occasion. I learned to get my recorder between classes and keep it with me if necessary.

But there was more to Mann's concern with order than the posting of hall supervisors and careful maintenance of attendance records. There was a tone in adults' interactions with children which assumed that they were likely to cause problems for the school unless they were supervised, overseen with strict rules, and exhorted to comply. The following account of a meeting in early spring in which the teacher responsible for supervising spring outdoor lunchtime recreation detailed procedures for it suggests the tone of interaction.

> Mrs. Morley was giving the students the rules for outdoor play which is to begin Monday. She was talking about when they leave the gym and where they should go. She stopped and said "Chris, you've got to listen to me." Then she said, "If you can't listen you've got to leave." She turned to the LD [Learning Disabilities] teacher and said "Take him away." The boy started to walk out--it was a black boy. The LD teacher tried to stop him and he sort of brushed the LD teacher off....Finally, [the teacher] did get him to sit down....Mrs. Morley also threatened another boy with ejection. The group got pretty quiet.
>
> Then she started again. She said there was to be no food taken outdoors: no fruit, no cookies, no milk,

> no sandwiches. She said "You know where you are supposed to be: not in the parking lot, not on the track, you stay behind the--." She glanced at Mrs. Rohr standing against the wall at the back and said, "I was going to say cage. That's not quite what I mean. You stay behind the fences."
>
> She also told them if they bring a frisbee or jumprope, to put their name on it and keep it with them. If they let it go or lose it, that is their responsibility.
>
> Then she talked about there being no pushing or shoving or hitting anybody either outside or inside. She said they may come in a little before the period is over; so the high school students can get out and they themselves get to their classes on time. She told them if they line up at the water fountain and are late for class that is not an excuse for being late. If they want a drink go to class first and ask to get a drink. She said often being thirsty will go away after a few minutes if they have gotten hot from running outside. Saying they are late because the adults outside didn't let them in or because they were in line for a drink just won't do. That will be no excuse.
>
> This talk lasted about five minutes. Her voice was very calm and quiet, but the tone of what she said was all don't, don't, don't. The description of outside recreation was a description of things they could not do.

It is important here, that Mann was a physically large building housing 1000 students, more than double the student body of either of the other two schools. Further, the initial anxieties of middle school parents that the high school students might threaten the safety or morals of the younger children had led the central office to direct the school to take extraordinary steps to protect those younger children. Thus the priority upon security measures was in part a result of the difficulty of handling a large number of persons in a space where it could be easy to linger and skip classes without supervision and of unusual parental anxiety.

Mann had relatively few all school events in the form of programs from outside the school or performances from within the school. It also had few special days, such as dressing for St. Patrick's day or in imitation of the fifties or celebrations of great heroes' birthdays, which the other schools and some neighborhood middle schools engaged in. One teacher said they had had many more such events at Atlantic when they had a staff member who was given official time as student activities director.

Some black teachers pointed out that there were very few celebrations of the students' ethnic heritages and customs. One black teacher who was on the "Human Relations Committee" played a large part in organizing what there were. There were some readings from Martin Luther King's writings over the PA through the week of his birthday and there was a film on prejudice done by Bill Cosby for the whole school. The sixth grade drama group put on a play about prejudice, in which red, green, and blue people gradually overcame their stereotypes, and performed it for the school and parents. The home economics teacher, who was black, had her students prepare ethnic lunches and invite their parents as part of the regular curriculum. But these events were less than the other magnet schools provided. And some black teachers pointed out that the majority of readers and actors in the student performances were white--just as the majority of students on all the teams going out were white. I noted that many dealt with prejudice but did not celebrate or interpret varied ethnicity. Aside from what was needed to prevent conflict, the building of relationships between the races or the affirmation of varied ethnic heritages was not high on the list of the school's priorities.

The Rhythm of Student Days

At Mann I observed classes by following students. I followed five sixth grade classes (which traveled together) through most or all of a day. I followed three seventh graders and two eighth graders (who had individual schedules) through complete school days. I thus got a good sense for the rhythm of a student's day.

The primary impression I got from this experience was one of hurry and bustle. The student went to homeroom, had some time to do last minute homework or chat with friends and listen to announcements. Then he or she was projected into a day where forty-eight minutes were taken up with class and four minutes were allowed for movement between classes. Sometimes movement consisted of a short walk and time to go to the bathroom or talk, but sometimes it consisted of covering two sets of stairs and several corridors in a heavy flow of traffic among persons who were much larger and more imposing. Lunch involved long lines and a short time for eating, then recreation in a crowded gym for most in the winter time. There were then more class periods with four minute breaks. Non-academic classes provided freedom of movement and an opportunity for talking with congenial persons. The last bell rang after the last of these classes and students went to their lockers, then to the gymnasium where they were promptly dismissed to board yellow buses back to their neighborhoods.

Movement from class to class seemed hurried and activity within each class highly structured. In the non-academic classes students seemed to be pleased to be freed of the forward facing constraints of the academic classroom and to exhibit high levels of social and physical activity which suggested the release of constrained energies. Some sixth grade groups traveling together which behaved very calmly in structured settings became silly and restless in less rigid situations.

In any case, the day was a highly structured one for students both in its overall temporal skeleton and in the activity expected within most of the units of that structure. Children could develop a niche, a personal space, by talking with their neighbors during seatwork or tasks which required work with the hands. But they did this within very real constraints. In this pattern the school resembled the overwhelming majority of junior high and even middle schools. I was struck with the pattern because I had come so recently from Owens and Adams. But to the Mann staff this way of organizing the students' days and activities was a given of secondary schooling which they never discussed or noticed because it seemed natural and inevitable. (In response to parental requests, there was some modification of this plan in the sixth grade so that students had the same teacher for two or three periods. But this was seen as a "transition" from elementary school to secondary school.)

THE CHILDREN'S RESPONSE

Students' Likes and Dislikes

At the end of the interview students were asked three questions: what they liked best about the school, what they liked least, and what they would change if given a magical wishing cap that enabled them to change absolutely anything. Two themes emerged most clearly in their answers. One was the importance of experiencing some autonomy, some chance to make choices about their activities. The other was the importance of peer relations.

But though these two themes dominated their responses, students differed considerably in their assessment of the school's strength or weakness in these areas. The single item most often picked as the best thing about the school was the exploratory classes because they allowed the students to work in subjects they had chosen. Some students saw lunch as the best thing about the school because there was time to talk to friends and some after lunch activities they found appealing. But other students mentioned the lack of electives in the general curriculum and the fact that they had to stay in the building for lunch as the things they liked least about the school.

Similarly, six students of the thirty-one named other students as the best thing about the school, saying that nice kids, or friendly kids (in one case gifted and talented kids) went to the school. But five other students named their peers as the worst thing about the school, saying some (never all) were rowdy, or liked to act tough, or were hostile. Six named students as the thing they would change about the school given a magical wishing cap. Thus a third of the sample found other students one of the best or worst aspects of their experience, but they were evenly split in their assessments! (Replies often included more than one feature of the school, but only the dominant theme was coded. Altogether more than a third of the students made reference to other students in the course of their replies.)

In general the students seemed unaware of the quarrels among the adults. A few students expressed grievances about the school which they had obviously heard from teachers, but these were not matters of the same moment to the students as to the teachers. All but a few took a more positive view of the school than did the majority of their teachers. Whatever effects the adults' quarrels and difficulties may have had upon the students came indirectly through the character of their classroom efforts and not by direct statements of their feelings about the school.

Students liked the school well enough to come consistently. Attendance for the two schools combined was 92% compared to 90% for Adams, 84% for Owens and 85% for middle schools citywide.[26]

Student-Teacher Relationships

Students reflected the impersonality of the daily routine and the classroom activity structure in their comments about teachers in their interviews. Teachers were not highly salient parts of the environment. When asked what classes they liked most and least and learned most and least from, Mann students mentioned teachers less often than did Adams students, who were asked the same questions. The subject and the activities of a class were more important determinants of the Mann students' responses to it than were the teachers. When the thirty-one Mann students interviewed did mention teachers, it was most often in the context of the classes they liked least (eight of thirty-one replies) or learned most from (seven of thirty-one replies). Teachers might be salient if mutual antagonism grew up or if they were good dispensers of information, but they were very rarely objects of personal liking (or seen as impediments to learning).

Similarly, in response to questions about what they liked best and least at the school and what they would change if given a wishing cap, students mentioned teachers less often than other students, exploratory classes, or physical arrangements such as the building, riding a bus, or the presence of the high school.

In classes students were well-behaved and businesslike, but in most contexts they did not appear deeply engaged. They listened when teachers talked and did the tasks which were asked of them. They very rarely presented discipline problems and they would ask questions if they did not understand the material.

However, in the pre-algebra and algebra classes they sometimes seemed quite intense in their concentration on the material. They were engaged in the discussion and the skits in French immersion classes. And they competed avidly in a team game in two eighth grade social studies classes I saw--though their main object was to find questions on the text so obscure that the member of the opposite team would not know the answer.

Despite their general co-operativeness, when they did not like classes they could become withdrawn, as in the following class--on a dark rainy Monday morning at 8:00.

> The teacher said they would be having a movie today on models. She wrote on the board a line for each of these four things: 1. analogue, 2. fluid dynamics, 3. testing hypotheses, and 4. variables. She explained that rather than having questions to answer, they would define these words and talk about them after the movie.
>
> The movie seemed to me to be very well made. It explained the concept of a model...and gave a large number and range of examples....

> After the movie Mrs. Morley gave three dictionaries to two white girls and a black boy. The first white girl, Angela, (one of the most able eighth graders) read the definition of an analogue very clearly and when asked to rephrase it in her own words, did so very adequately.
>
> The second girl, when called upon said, "You asked me last time."
>
> The teacher said, "Yes, but you were reading a book during the movie." (I had noticed her doing that too.)
>
> The girl said, "No, I wasn't."
>
> The teacher let that pass and asked for the definition. The girl read it so quietly I could not hear it. The teacher asked her to repeat it but I still could not hear. The teacher rephrased it.
>
> Then she asked the boy for his definition and he also was hard to hear; so she rephrased what he said.
>
> Then she asked them as a group to define fluid dynamics, which was well illustrated in the movie with a model of blood in a dog's veins. No one could define it; so she halfway did it for them. Then she asked them about models for testing hypotheses and said Forrest had a good example of a model a couple of weeks ago. "Can you remember that, Forrest?" she asked.
>
> Forrest said, "Huh?"
>
> So she said, "Remember, it had something to do with the galaxy?"
>
> Forrest said, "Ohh."
>
> She said, "Remember, you talked about laying something out."
>
> "Oh yes, salt," said Forrest. Then she explained that it was like spilling salt so that it is thicker near the center and thinner near the edges. But she really had to give Forrest's example for him.
>
> Then she asked them what variables were....They really didn't know. So she said, "Well all right let's watch the movie again and see if you can get it next time."
>
> During the movie several children put their heads down. The count varied from five to ten....After the second running, she asked them again about variables. They had difficulty; she had to tell them what example the movie had given. They still couldn't really deal with it, but the bell rang; so she dismissed them.

With some teachers they became more than withdrawn, they became restless and active, ignoring the teacher. They chatted even while the teacher was talking and made jokes at inappropriate times, so that the teacher had to call repeatedly for order. However, even these classes rarely directly challenged, let alone teased, a teacher or grew so disorderly as to ignore him or her while engaging in uproar.[27] It is worth noting that these least orderly classes were generally classes taught by high school teachers who had only one middle school class.

These teachers seemed to be unfamiliar with the ways of the age group and how to keep them concentrating on the material. One of the regular middle school teachers who had entered the school with only high school experience said that it took her half the year to learn how to get and keep the respectful attention of these younger students.

The following extreme example suggests that the students could remain well-behaved even under provocation. A teacher asked her students to go home and ask their parents what countries their forebears came from. In social studies class she handed out small slips of paper for each child to write his country of origin on. The class was half black.

> After she had called on seven white children and placed seven tags in northern Europe and Canada a black boy raised his hand and said, "I noticed something about these. They're all in the northern hemisphere.
>
> Mrs. Berg said, "Right. But there are people here who come from the southern hemisphere. All the black people here come from Africa. Do you remember seeing "Roots"? Then she said she didn't have any more paper, if she had some extra she would put one up in Africa.
>
> I looked over at the desk of the girl next to me who was black. She had written Africa on her slip. But none of the black children volunteered a slip. And Mrs. Berg assumed that none of these sixth graders who had been asked to talk about their country of origin with their parents would have a slip saying Africa or some country in Africa. She didn't even bother to ask.
>
> She went on recognizing white children for their country of origin and refused to call on Terrence, the black boy who had first spoken, though his hand was up.
>
> One black boy finally did get recognized and he said that his mother says that "We are part white, part Indian, and part black."
>
> Mrs. Berg replied that putting together the many people who make you constitutes a family tree, and she called on a white girl who had brought in a family tree her older sister had made. Mrs. Berg talked about it at length.

After this treatment, which can safely be described as insulting, the black children simply became very quiet. Two black girls in the back row talked audibly to one another, but otherwise the class remained docile as the teacher went on for another twenty minutes discussing an upcoming field trip to a state historical exhibit which displayed the varied ethnic heritages of the state.

The teacher described here was a long term substitute who was unusually insensitive to students. But it is notable that Mann's black sixth graders did not respond to her insults with visible anger, but with withdrawal. Even that was not total. Some of the black children took part in the later discussion of the field trip. The room did not become palpably tense or awkward. There are accounts of lower class students, both white and black, engaging in protracted conflict with their teachers with less provocation (Hargreaves, 1967; McDermott, 1974; Metz, 1978a; 1978b; Willis, 1977). Even at Mann an eighth grade class might have responded more angrily.

There must have been some occasions when students, especially black students, entered into expressive conflict with teachers in order to generate the 738 yellow cards resting in the files and belonging disproportionately to black students. Some black students talked about other students' volatility in class and the counselor spoke of black students in particular getting into trouble for becoming angry in class. However, these were not really frequent occurrences. There were approximately 4.4 yellow cards given each day to a student body of 450. Either an observer or a student could easily go through a regular school day without seeing one given.

Aside from the cases where whole classes became restless, the most direct conflict I saw in Mann's classrooms occurred between high status white children and teachers. Thus a sixth grade white girl argued with a teacher who was trying to illustrate the difference between tangible and intangible nouns by saying that one could "see" a week on a calendar or a nation on a map. A boy from a clique of leading South Side students asked his French teacher (in a regular language class) what the "passe compose" (pluperfect tense) was as though it were unreasonable to expect them to have heard of it as she was reminding them to review it for a test. As she asked the class to say sentences including adverbs correctly placed in such sentences, he said he did not know "what you are talking about," although the three people preceding him had done their sentences correctly. Even after a demonstration he was expressively puzzled, making her answer her own question. His manner laid the fault at her feet, though clearly he had not paid attention to what most other children were mastering.

The most striking example of this behavior occurred in the class of a black teacher who had a tense relationship with her classes whom she constantly accused of bad manners or lack of effort. In this class students were giving oral reports and the rest of the class was moving restlessly and whispering. She had pointed out already that each of them would want attention when it was their turn to speak. During a report, she stopped the speaker and addressed Alan, the son of the business executive who chaired the committee to move the school site, who had been whispering.

> She said, "Alan, when is your report going to be ready."
>
> Alan replied loudly and clearly, "My report is on the variety of kinds of paper airplanes. I'd like examples of varied kinds of planes and I want them by the end of this hour!" He said the last sentence crisply and commandingly.
>
> Ms. Blair told the speaker to go on. The boy next to me and the girl in front of me began obediently

> folding airplanes. Paper rustled quietly around the room.
>
> After a little while Ms. Blair stopped the speaker again and said, "Do you know what the word rude means? How can he talk with paper rustling all over the room? If I see any of those, I will throw them away. I didn't tell you to make paper airplanes." She was really angry and the class for once took her seriously and was quiet through the rest of this report.

Notice here that Alan had successfully manipulated both the teacher and the class. He deflected the criticism from himself and got the whole class--who were obedient to him as they ordinarily were to their teachers--in trouble. The teacher showed a more extreme form of a fairly common reluctance to chastize the highest status children for arrogant behavior.

In the larger spaces of the school the white children were sometimes strikingly insensitive to the feelings of others. They would loudly criticize the cafeteria food to one another as they stood in front of the cooks who served it, with no sense that the cooks might have feelings involved. A white boy waiting to go home with a sprained wrist responded to the school secretary's comment that she had been cut off in trying to reach his father on the phone by saying--"Oh it was the dumb secretary." Examples of this kind of behavior were fairly common. They happened disproportionately when the adults involved were black.[28]

Relationships Among Students

Some of the students spoke in their interviews of a keen sense of academic competition among the students at the school. As my assistant read the student interviews without any other knowledge of the schools, he picked out competitiveness and a certain high strung intense quality as a distinguishing mark of the Mann students in contrast to the students at the other two schools. The counselor said that one group of children who had particular difficulty at the school were children who had previously been very successful and found they were only performing at an average level, or even simply not at the highest level, at Mann. She spoke at length of a boy from the West Side who had been a student leader and academically strong and was now having serious personal problems in adjusting. Some of the arrogance which some white students displayed may have been a defense against academic insecurity.

The competitive character of the students' response to the single standard of performance at the school put the black students as a group at a particular disadvantage, since fewer of them arrived with strong skills. The relatively few extracurricular and organized recreational activities available also gave them few alternate channels in which to display other than academic capabilities. Such interracial contact under conditions of unequal status has been shown to foster racial stereotyping and difficult interracial relations (see for example Cohen, 1980; Schofield and Sagar, 1979).

Despite students' generally compliant behavior in class, there were some palpable currents of conflict between students and adults and among students at Mann. I have already shown that students were sent out of class in larger numbers than at Adams, though in smaller numbers than at most neighborhood middle schools. Further, there were more graffiti on the walls, and more racially insulting graffiti, than in the other two schools. The meaning of these graffiti was hard to interpret, however, because signs scratched in the paint on the doors to the school or written on the walls with such sentiments as "Honky" or "Black sucks" could have been put there by high school rather than middle school students. However, there were some of these sentiments written in the middle school girls' bathrooms where high school students entered the door at the risk of suspension. (The bathrooms were the site of the most graffiti at the other two schools, though the writings there less often included racial insults.) At the same time, teachers from other middle schools commented on the lack of graffiti at Mann and especially on the lack of destruction of bulletin board displays.

At Mann students in interviews made more frequent mention of having been insulted or teased, sometimes for their race (and these statements were made by both blacks and whites) than did children at either of the other two schools. They also made more frequent references to incidents of conflict.

A white sixth grader spoke of having difficulty, especially with older students:

Interviewer: What do you like the very least about the school?

Jonathan: (Pause) I'd say there are some kids that are kind of rowdy. One time they came along with a marker. I thought it was maybe a knife or something. They came with a marker at my face and went WHAM! There are some troublemakers in this school.

Interviewer: Are they in your class or were they--

Jonathan: No, they're older. One's about in eighth grade I think and the other's in high school maybe....

Some people they're calling names and everything. Like sometimes they call me names and I just quit saying anything.

Interviewer: Is there a kind of person who calls you names or is it just some particular people?

Jonathan: Well, they just come by, "Hey fag!" and stuff like this.

Interviewer: Is that kids you know or is that big kids again?

Jonathan: Well there's some people I know, but mostly it's big kids. If I'm walking in, then they're walking right through. They'll go, "Get out of my way!" Probably cause I'm so small.

An eighth grade white boy said he had been hassled by blacks, especially early in his career at Mann, though he had gotten along with them at Peach Street. He now said that he would prefer a mostly white high school, though he showed some guilt in explaining his preference:

> Because--not to seem prejudiced or anything--but I sometimes feel that a lot of black students are hostile towards the white students. And the white students toward the black students. But at least the white students don't say it outloud. They don't call them anything like nigger or something. While the black students I think feel more free to just call us honkey or something like that or start something with us.

A black eighth grade boy when asked what he would change about the school if given magical powers said:

Tim: The prejudice.

Interviewer: What do people do that's prejudiced?

Tim: (mumbling) They write "Black sucks" on the walls.

Interviewer: Does that kind of thing stay up there?

Tim: They wash it off, but then it's there again the next day.

A black girl complained about black boys who get sent out of class a lot because they like "to act tough". Asked later in the interview what she liked least about the school she said:

Michelle: The kids.

Interviewer: Is that all of the kids or some of them?

Michelle: No some of them. Not all of them.

Interviewer: What are they like--the ones you don't like?

Michelle: Well some kids I like, but a lot of them I don't like because they like to play around. And some of them I don't because they like to think they're tough and everything. They fight everybody. I don't like that.

Several black students at Mann said they would prefer to go to a high school with mixed races because black kids alone are too rowdy or given to fighting and not working.

These comments were not the only ones in interviews which referred to students being hassled by other students, to fighting and name calling, and to defacing of the building. Several of these incidents mentioned by the students had a racial cast, and racial insults flowed in both directions.

Criticism was leveled more often at black students for unruly or hostile behavior and it was leveled not only by whites but by other blacks as well.

More blacks named a white among their five best friends than whites did blacks. But there seemed to be agreement, especially by the older black students, that the black students, the girls more than the boys, disciplined each other not to be close to whites, calling one another "Oreo" if they violated the rule.

It seems fair to suggest that students who were not capable in the classroom felt a good deal of strain under Mann's single curriculum and grading system and in the face of what became classroom invisibility alternating with occasional embarrassment. A disproportionate number of the students experiencing these problems were black. Further, there was little activity in the school to legitimate black ethnicity, and as I have suggested some of the white teachers expected blacks and whites to stay separate.

Further, there were social class differences in this school. Many of the white children were upper middle class, and many of the blacks either shared or aspired to this class and its life style. But those who did not and who were poor academic performers must have felt they were present in a school not intended for them where they were marginal participants. Such a situation is a classic breeding ground for attacks on the building and other students and for classroom disruption. The last seemed to be the least common form of expression. In the next chapter I will explore the sources of the contrast in behavior at Mann and the other schools more systematically.

Academic Responses

I suggested in analyzing the curricular structure, academic rewards, and activity structure at Adams that they may have helped the slower students' academic performance, but that some teachers thought they lessened the stimulation given to the best students by taking away the rewards of competition. At Owens, the same pattern seemed to be at work. At Mann then, one might expect signs of stronger performance out of the better students and perhaps weaker performance out of the less skilled ones. Scores on the standardized tests taken by the class who were seventh graders at the time of the study in the fifth grade before entering Mann and in the seventh grade after in most cases two years at Mann are reported in Table 6-3 and Table 6-4. The figures there show improvements in every category between the fifth and seventh grade except for the least skilled children in mathematics. Most of these improvements are modest, though for the most skilled children there was limited room for improvement, and indeed in seventh grade mathematics 10% of them did as well as it is possible to do, showing noticeable improvement over their fifth grade scores (and probably the effects of the accelerated prealgebra course in the seventh grade). Mann shows the most consistent pattern of improvement of the three schools.

If Jesse Owens's staff felt their students might suffer from lack of practice in testing and lack of emphasis on the tests, Mann's students

Table 6-3

Comparison of Horace Mann Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Reading for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1978 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1980

	Fifth Grade	Seventh Grade
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	96	96
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	89	92
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	74	76
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	51	60
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	33	35

Source: Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

Table 6-4

Comparison of Horace Mann Students' Fifth Grade and Seventh Grade Performance on Metropolitan Standardized Tests of Mathematics for the Cohort Taking Grade Five Tests in Spring 1978 and Grade Seven Tests in Spring 1980

	Fifth Grade	Seventh Grade
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	94	99
75% score at or below national percentile rank of:	87	94
50% score at or below national percentile rank of:	72	78
25% score at or below national percentile rank of:	54	56
10% score at or below national percentile rank of:	41	39

Source: Heartland Computer Data Files

did not have this problem. They were used to regular tests in class and to comparing grades on their performance. Further, the school took careful thought to all arrangements which might improve their performance. A seventh grade math teacher prepared his students in a regular math class for the tests reported here, on the day that I followed a student, by explaining to them how the school had arranged the testing to improve their performance, implying that that performance was important.

> Mr. Napoli told the class they will be having Metropolitan tests like the ones they took in the fifth grade. He said the fliers from Central Office say they will be given next week, but next week is the end of the grading period and they have a month before it has to be done. So they will wait and have their [class] test on percentages first.
>
> The teachers have decided that rather than having every one take the test in the big room, the students will do best where they are most used to doing math--which is right here he assumes. (A couple of students groaned and giggled.) So the tests will be week after next. He thinks Monday is not a good day for testing, he will let them get in the groove for a day first. They could do it in two days--it is one long test and two short ones--but he thinks it will go better if they take the two short ones on two different days.

Though students at Mann maintained and somewhat improved their good scores on standardized tests, their grades given by teachers were not uniformly high. As one might expect, the students at the bottom end of the distribution did poorly. In the study year approximately ten students in the eighth grade were unable to graduate with the class because they had failed two or more academic subjects--though many could continue to the ninth grade by passing these subjects in summer school.[29] The next year, however, this happened to only one.

CONCLUSION

Mann Middle School was deeply affected by the special characteristics of magnet schools discussed in Chapter Two. The development of its program as a gifted and talented school was intimately intertwined with the other influences on its organizational character discussed in Chapter Three.

The Effects of Mann's Magnet Status

For participants within the school, Mann was most deeply affected by its placement within the high school building. It was placed there as part of a hurried political decision which was aimed primarily at avoiding the wrath of the communities of the white and black schools originally proposed for closing in the fall of 1978. Secondarily the move prevented embarrassment from opening Mann high school with a quarter of the students it had been remodeled for and with a student body too heavily black to meet desegregation guidelines or to give the school a good start in attracting a desegregated student body for the future.[30]

While the middle school's placement within the high school and its life as a school within a school were in a sense idiosyncratic characteristics, the historical processes which led it to be placed there and which kept it there for at least five years are intimately wound up with the political nature of magnet schools in Heartland. The Heartland Public Schools chose magnet schools in the first place at least in part out of a desire not to inconvenience the communities of white neighborhood schools any more than absolutely necessary while meeting the terms of the court order. It did so at the cost of closing and reducing enrollment in many black neighborhood schools. Protest over the proposed closing of the black high school for the fall of 1978 was the first wave of black resistance to that trend which grew to fuller flower in the protest over the proposed closing of East High School to neighborhood attendance for the fall of 1980. Thus, the history of the use of magnet schools for desegregation encouraged the protests from white and black neighborhoods which the board yielded to on the night of August 1, 1978 in failing to close the proposed schools. Members saw the two magnet schools which it then precipitously moved differently from neighborhood schools, as more pliable, partly because the parents were receiving the rewards of distinctive education and were supportive of desegregation. The parents' lawsuit came as a surprise. The board's continued unwillingness to close another middle school--white or black--in order to move the gifted and talented middle school out of Mann despite growing numbers of applications for both it and the high school reflects the same sympathies with white neighborhood school parents and the same current of protest from the black community.

Not only was the position of the middle school within the Mann building a secondary, or at best a "guest" one, but the making of the decision to move it on August 1st without prior warning to teachers or families created turmoil within the school. Parents and teachers were angry not only because of the move itself but because of its timing. And there was simply insufficient time in which to move materials from Atlantic or to plan the most basic elements of running the school, let alone to set it up as distinctive.

But if Mann suffered from its magnet status in these ways, it was spared another of the common problems of magnet status. There was minimal dumping of difficult students into the Mann program by other schools or selection of it as a last resort by desperate parents of difficult children.

Mann's gifted and talented innovation gave it a real advantage in the quality of students it recruited. Furthermore, the title of the program made it attractive to parents. And the process of sending nomination forms to every school in the city and to parochial schools[31] and suburban schools[32] stimulated parental demand for the school through these organizationally structured nominations. Demand did become substantial. For the fall of 1982 initially 120 new students were accepted in Mann and 280 applicants were turned away.

The character of the innovation also drew a distinctive cohort of parents. From the beginning the program drew middle class parents, including a number of community leaders. These parents had the skills to organize and fight for the program. But they also had the skills and confidence to complain vociferously when they did not like it. The recruitment of parents thus was both an advantage and a difficulty for the program.

The character of the gifted and talented innovation created other problems for the school. First, it was vaguely defined with no clear guidelines for action. Furthermore it contained the ideas of acceleration and of enrichment which imply different educational philosophies and different deployments of time, space, and materials. The student body as a whole was not well-suited to acceleration. Serious pursuit of acceleration with those who were capable of it would have been bound to have led to obvious imbalance in the proportion of the races in different groups--as it in fact did in the pre-algebra and algebra classes and the competitive teams where there were only a sprinkling of black students. Thus the founding of the gifted and talented program as a vehicle for desegregation and the character of the students who actually attended it pushed the program toward enrichment.

But the temporal schedule and the logistics imposed by the program's location in the high school made it difficult to pursue activities appropriate to enrichment. Also, the philosophy of the high school stressed acceleration in traditional academic pursuits. Even where the two emphases might have blended, as in the teaching of music and development of the orchestra, the temporal schedule of the high school program was inhibiting.

Mann reflected the wider system in its lack of emphasis upon racial integration, as contrasted to simple desegregation, as a school goal. Efforts were concentrated on the general problems of establishing a new school and on the educational innovation. Some attention was given to preventing difficulties that desegregation might cause. The close supervision of students and the programs on prejudice were intended to prevent trouble among students, including interracial trouble. Also classes were heterogeneously grouped in academic skills to prevent resegregation. But except for some efforts by a few teachers most of whom were black, the staff seemed to leave to the students the task of developing an understanding of the cultural differences among them and of developing positive relationships across these cultural gaps. As in much else, the student body was a great help to the school here, as some students did move in these directions out of their own resources, though not all did. Though some racial tensions did grow up, they were for the most part expressed in the forms of avoidance, graffiti and only mild hassling of other students.

They did not involve all the students or become preoccupying for the students as a whole.

The gifted and talented innovation blended educational distinctiveness with desegregation as goals less easily than did IGE or open education. Because it attracted highly able white children in large numbers, it was difficult to match them with equal numbers of black students with equivalent achievement levels--especially since these black children seemed to be less often nominated and when nominated less willing to come. Therefore the character of the innovation encouraged recruitment of a student body where race and achievement (and social class) would be associated. Further the majority of teachers at Mann who took the innovation seriously defined it as acceleration, and so tended to accentuate racial differences. Rosenbaum and Presser (1978) describe a more severe version of the same set of processes in another city in a middle school which was a gifted and talented magnet school. In that school children of different races only mixed well in the "house" which stressed drama, where teachers made conscious efforts to construct racially heterogeneous groups which co-operated around tasks that did not depend heavily on prior skills.

Finally, since the gifted and talented innovation for Mann was conceived and planned at the central office and then located in the Atlantic site partly by parental choice, it did not originate from the efforts of any one within the program. No one was its architect and enjoyed the socially validated and internally experienced identification with it which would make him or her its leading voice. Mr. Mueller could play this part to some extent as Administrator in Charge, but he had not designed the program; he did not have a free hand within the school to define it; and he did not have the time or the authority, that would have been available to a middle school principal with an assistant principal, to push the teachers toward practicing it. Those teachers who had most knowledge and enthusiasm for it were not leaders in the faculty culture. Where they had formal positions of leadership, such as curriculum co-ordinator or team liaison to the administration, their leadership depended on voluntary co-operation from others.

Internal Organizational Processes

All of the factors discussed in Chapter Three as influences upon the organizational character of schools played a part in shaping life at Mann. Scheduling and logistics played a large part in determining the shape of the gifted and talented innovation and the students' experience of the school. As at Adams and Owens curricular structure, academic rewards, and classroom activity structure had important effects on student-teacher relations and upon relations among students and especially relations between the races. But at Mann these influences were differently structured than at the other two schools and had different effects. Chapter Seven discusses these influences at more length.

The history of the school established its position as a school within a school. It also played a large part in developing the assumptions and preoccupations built into the faculty culture. The teachers' experiences at the old Atlantic, the policy of separating the gifted and talented students from all but a few teachers at Atlantic in the first year of the program, and the criticism of parents had all driven them to concentrate on maintenance of their professional pride. Further, the faculty carried over patterns of blaming the character of the student body and the policies of the administration for any educational deficiencies of the school, which they had formed for self-protection at Atlantic, to their experience at Mann despite the presence of a new kind of student body and new administrators.

Faculty culture also affected the program as the Atlantic teachers and many of the new teachers had been trained for secondary teaching and identified with their subjects and with traditional secondary styles of teaching. The grade level teams and exploratory classes of the middle school plan seemed to them to water down the academic quality of the school and they resisted them. Most also resisted suggestions which might have changed or introduced variety into traditional secondary curricular structure and classroom activity structure. The model of the high school, a model which had much higher status in their eyes than Peach Street School, re-enforced these tendencies in faculty culture.

As at the other schools, the principal's style made a difference, and as at others its effects were modified by the school's history. As at Adams the principal and assistant principal had to employ the full powers of their bureaucratic offices with some threat of coercive sanctions in order to create a distinctive school in a very short time without even the resources for an ordinary school fully available. As at Adams, bringing alive the bureaucratic hierarchical definition of principal-teacher relations, which is formally legitimate but ordinarily not fully practiced, led to resistance from teachers who felt their accustomed autonomy and their claims to professional status threatened.

As at Adams, this tension was heightened and built upon by personal conflict between the principals and an informal leader among the teachers. Processes of internal political conflict among individuals became entangled with the ambivalent definition of authority between principals and teachers in the wider profession. The dissident teachers at each school built upon other teachers' resentment of the full use of hierarchical power and its threat to teachers' autonomy to increase faculty anger at the principals.

At both schools the presence of these dissidents was not accidental. Both tangled with their principals because they were ambitious men, with credentials beyond those of classroom teacher, who felt frustrated by their principals' insistence that they follow their official commands. While their struggles with the principals were given a sharp edge by personality conflict, they arose fundamentally from the principals' need to run their schools in a more than normally peremptory way. One can predict that most faculties in similar circumstances would be likely to contain persons who could become dissident leaders of this kind.

The influences which played upon Mann from without because of its character as a magnet school and the influences which grew up within its internal organizational functioning became entangled with one another in a complex causal web. One can not pick out a single cause of its organizational character or of the shape which its innovation took in practice. Rather one must look at the interaction among many influences which operated in response to one another. Nonetheless, it is possible from consideration of the similarities and differences in the influences which shaped the programs at Adams, Owens and Mann together to draw some conclusions about common processes in magnet schools and about the aspects of organizational life which shape the ways that blueprints for educational innovations are translated into practice at individual schools.

But before the final chapters which bring together the commonalities and differences at the schools, it is important to note that each portrait of a school given here was drawn at a particular historical moment and that the life of each school will look somewhat different depending upon the moment in its history at which it was caught. I have given an account of Mann at an earlier point in the development of its special program than the point at which I described either of the other programs. The tensions I described at Mann had been more severe in the first year than they were in the second. During the second year the most critical parents withdrew their involvement. Active parents since then have been asking to retain the same faculty should the school be moved; they have been far more supportive. Quite probably some of the other tensions have eased with time as persons have come to make accomodations with one another and their situation (though one would expect that the belief that the school will be in the building only one more year in each year of its life has worked against these adjustment processes). Further, Dr. Joliet was promoted to assistant superintendent in the fall following the study and that winter Mr. Mueller was promoted to curriculum supervisor in the subject in which he had previously taught. The other assistant principal was transferred. Thus all the administrative personnel are new and have had a chance to take advantage of their fresh faces to win more cooperation for arrangements which are dictated by the social context. The description of Mann given here must be taken as a picture of the situation in the early stages of establishment of the program which has probably become historical.

POSTSCRIPT

I gave a late draft of this chapter to the new principal at Mann and asked that he share it with the curriculum co-ordinator who was the same person who had been in that office during the study. The curriculum co-ordinator confirmed that time had helped the school to run more smoothly. Four dissident teachers had been excessed as the school lost students and resources. Various other teachers have left mostly for family reasons. The new teachers filling these positions have been pleased to be placed at the school. The teams have benefited both from this turnover and from further experience in working together. The study year was the first year of the teachers' experience in working in teams.

There has been some progress in adding distinctive programming to the school. The most visible addition has been the institution of a second French immersion class which starts at the sixth grade and so can include students who did not attend Peach Street. The new teacher who works with it uses methods similar to those used in the earlier classes.

The new principal pointed out that as before accountability for the program remains in his office and important decisions must be made jointly by Mr. Mueller s replacement and him. Daily decisions are delegated to Mr. Mueller's replacement. As one would predict, a change in personnel has not changed the administrative structure significantly.

Though Mr. Mueller, with whom I worked as administrator during the study, asked me to have the new principal be the reader of the chapter for the school, the new principal asked Dr. Joliet and Mr. Mueller to read it after he did, but late enough so that I did not get comments directly from them until after the body of the chapter had been finally typed.

Dr. Joliet wanted it pointed out that there was no policy to give out supplies in small amounts, but rather that was apparently a decision by the office staff in daily practice. He also spoke of his belief that flexibility can be developed within a structured schedule and gave some examples of ways flexibility had been developed in the high school. The examples given within the chapter of teachers who departed from traditional secondary patterns in the middle school suggest also that teachers eager to pursue varied agendas within the overall use of time and space could find more ways to do so than did the majority of Mann middle school teachers.

Mr. Mueller commented that it was only rarely that decisions he made would be reversed from above. But it may have appeared to the teachers that they were reversed if he would give a generally positive first response to a request, but after reflecting on all the implications for the running of the school as a whole decide that it would not be workable. He also thought it should be noted that, especially in the school's early stages, Dr. Joliet spent a considerable portion of his time on middle school matters, but mostly in consultations that were not easily visible to the faculty. Of course Dr. Joliet also worked under the strain of double role demands, since being principal of the high school was a full role in itself. Like the middle school teachers, the high school teachers were likely to feel their school's importance diminished when it did not have the principal's undivided attention.

NOTES

[1] This school became one of the bases of black resentment of the magnet program. Only after the removal of its neighborhood black children was it cleaned and refurbished. Not only this, but it was made an architectural showpiece--but one inaccessible to most of the children who lived nearby, many of whom now rode buses to the city's periphery.

[2] I have discussed these at length elsewhere from the perspective of the elementary school. See Mary Haywood Metz, "The Closing of Andrew Jackson Elementary School: Magnets in School System Organization and Politics" in Samuel Bacharach, ed., Organizational Behavior in Schools and School Districts, New York: Praeger, 1981.

[3] There have been only a few school closings in the years since 1978. White communities strongly but unsuccessfully protested the closing of some neighborhood schools to make way for small high schools for students with special needs in the planning cycle for the fall of 1981. In the planning cycle for fall 1982, the board was unwilling to resist protest to close any elementary schools despite a long committee process and its announced intention to close five or six. However, since I drafted this text, parents representing the 280 students not admitted to Mann middle school for 1982 have organized to file suit on the grounds that they were misled in requesting the gifted and talented program at the new site, because they expected more slots to be available and gave up their opportunity to compete for scarce spots at Adams, Owens, and in the Program from the Academically Talented (see footnote 8) in several highly subscribed neighborhood schools. Only 120 students were admitted, representing a contraction in the middle school--three such classes would yield a student body of 360--to make room for the high school. If the demand for the gifted and talented middle school continues, in the future the board will be caught between this demand and pressure from the neighborhoods of sites where it might move the program.

[4] The teachers quoted above who had high opinions of Dr. Joliet were all women. Fewer men spoke in such terms.

[5] Nor had the school board intended to make the gifted and talented middle school a secondary enterprise existing in the high school's shadow. They also had not thought out the social relationships which would evolve--even though both parents and central administrators knew that experience in other "school within a school" situations had thrown up similar problems.

[6] It seemed that tension between the older and younger children or cases of high school students leading middle school students astray--the greatest concern of the parents--were not a serious problem, though some difficulties, and some positive influences, did exist.

[7] One teacher made the interesting point that it was in the high school's interest for it and the middle school not to mesh too well, since the high school's expansion and its full development required the use of the whole building. If the two schools worked too well together, they were likely to be left together.

[8] Under considerable pressure from the community, especially the black community, this program was changed to the Program for the Academically Talented and expanded with less restrictive entrance criteria in 1981-1982.

[9] This was an exaggeration, though they did go to Montreal the following year.

[10] The music teacher, who was not from Atlantic, showed more interest in beginners and less talented students than did the art teacher who was. But then the music teacher also thought more highly of the talent in the student body than did the art teacher. Both the art teacher and the physical education teacher with whom I talked found this student body in some ways more inhibited and less capable in their areas than the student body at Atlantic Avenue.

[11] The fact that most teachers described the Peach Street students as wanting to avoid hard work, or in some cases as simply being no different from the other students--while a minority of teachers found them better capable of self-control and group co-operation--suggests that the majority of teachers were defending themselves against these students', their parents', and sometimes Mr. Mueller's criticisms of unimaginative teaching when they followed strictly traditional secondary patterns. Most teachers' failure to mention the frustration arising from Peach Street students' wide earlier experience and thus their lack of appreciation of experiences other middle school children would have found new may similarly have been a protection of teachers' pride in the face of the students' assault upon their belief in their capacities to offer stimulating teaching. I will say more of this in discussing faculty culture.

[12] The high school had a higher proportion of minority students and had lower achievement scores, suggesting that the economic level of the student body was lower than that of the middle school.

[13] Peach Street students gained automatic entrance to Mann. Very few children were counseled out of Peach Street; so some children who needed remedial help went through the full six years of the gifted and talented program.

[14] Three of the seven black staff members were in this situation, and a fourth belonged to no team because she taught an academic subject across grade levels. Two of the remaining three were the librarian and guidance

counselor, leaving only one black teacher of a core subject on a team. During the year an eighth black teacher was hired to replace a sixth grade teacher who resigned, making two black teachers on teams.

[15] The distinctions among these groups--except for that between blacks and whites--were not made explicit and quite probably not even recognized as group distinctions, though the one particularly close department was recognized as such by both insiders and outsiders. Also some new teachers said that the group from Atlantic as a whole had long-standing ties and was difficult to enter. I only became fully aware of the differences between the men and women after I had left the school when I read over all the interviews with teachers consecutively. Then a distinction between most (not all) of the men and most (not all) of the women was quite striking. As I reflected I remembered closer social ties within than between genders. Also it was quite clear that many men, especially, voiced the same concerns in the same phrases; so that they clearly were in close communication with each other.

[16] When I asked the counselor about this she told me that parents did speak to her individually to tell her she was not the one being criticized. She said they were models of politeness in one to one conversation. However, this was not always true in their dealings with teachers. One teacher spoke of parents being very critical and belittling when her students in combination with some other classes displayed projects at a parental open house the first year. She said they were much more polite and complimentary in the second year.

[17] During the year of the study the parents seemed to calm down as a group. The most critical faction had won the election for office in the PTO after criticizing the officers of the year before who for the most part had counseled patience and support while the school get established in its new setting. But having won their victory, these parents as one teacher said "faded away". PTO meetings were not well organized and attendance fell off. Some were even cancelled. Perhaps the possibility of a new building, time, and the impending graduation of some students made issues seem less crucial.

The committee set up the year after the study recommended very clearly in its report to the board that the current staff be transferred with the program. And when it appeared that the school would be moved into one of the three remaining inner city overwhelming black schools in the winter of 1982, great concern was expressed by parents that the Mann staff be kept. This time they benefitted from the same negative stereotypes of inner city teachers (at the new site) which they had suffered from before.

[18] There were at least two black teachers in a small group with whom Mr. Mueller worked especially closely for improvement during the study year. But they were also teachers about whom there were many parental complaints.

[19] A few did make a handful of modest alterations or extra efforts with their own students without saying very much about them.

[20] Some question is thrown on the accuracy of their judgment or the extensiveness of the practice, since, as I will note below, Mann failed approximately ten eighth graders, mostly black.

[21] It was also difficult for me to interpret a number of small incidents and statements by white teachers that which seemed to me to have some hint of differential treatment or judgment of black children but were not explicitly tied to their race.

[22] As Schofield and Sagar (1979) point out, teachers in desegregated schools can not avoid having a racially relevant seating policy. Not to "have a policy" is to take a stand for letting children choose and maintain partners on whatever criteria they bring at the beginning of the year.

[23] This was one of the rare instances where the middle school children had an opportunity to use high school facilities of a kind not normally available to middle school children.

[24] The level seemed to vary with the subject. In some departments there was a special curriculum for the school, separate from that for the system, overseen by the systemwide curriculum supervisor, while in others there was not.

[25] See Metz (1978b) and Foster (1974) on these patterns of behavior in class among working class black children.

[26] Attendance tends to go up with social class and achievement, however. And Mann had the only high school or middle school students all of whom could take a yellow bus, avoiding the distractions and long cold waits associated with transfers on public buses. On the other side, high schools had lower attendance than middle schools citywide; the combined figure for the two schools may understate middle school attendance.

[27] One teacher from the high school who had a single middle school class and who was a new teacher from another country, did have a class which simply ran riot. I interviewed students in the room next door, and I could hear the sound of play and teasing cat calls during that period of the day. Late in the spring the teacher was hit in the head by a thrown object.

[28] Some of the black teachers also were most expressive in describing the faults of these children. They remarked upon their manipulativeness. One woman spoke of the girls' "turning on the waterworks" and their sensitivity to being criticized. Used to the tough self-reliance of the Atlantic students, this teacher clearly thought that these students

lacked pride in using a display of hurt feelings or their high status parents' intervention to get their way.

These white students also sometimes threw food in the dining room, behavior which the black teachers, especially, regarded with thinly veiled disgust. One said she supposed it was a cultural pattern of which she should be tolerant, but she agreed with other black teachers that the administrators who patrolled the dining room were far too lenient with it. One pointed out that if the food, which was aimed at white friends, hit the wrong black student there could be serious trouble as a result.

[29] One of these students was a black boy whom I interviewed. His math teacher said in late May that his chances of passing were virtually gone, but he seemed to me to be alert, insightful, and rather skillful in handling the interview situation. When I asked the counselor about him, she estimated his ability as average taken against a wider population, but said he had trouble co-operating and working steadily in the Mann setting.

[30] The small enrollment, especially the small white enrollment, for the high school reflected in part a low-key announcement of magnet school opportunities for the fall of 1978, the third year of desegregation, as the court order was back in the local court for review. It appeared that the whole system might not have to be desegregated after all.

[31] Parochial schools, which were not required to return their forms as the public schools were, often were reluctant to do so, as they liked to keep the children who were eligible for Mann.

[32] The state funded a program for minority students to attend suburban schools and allowed the suburbs to send an equivalent number of students to city schools. The gifted and talented, creative arts, and Montessori programs drew so many such applications that the central office limited suburban participation to ten percent of the seats in these schools.

Chapter Seven

Sources of Students' Interpersonal Relationships in the Three Schools

The three schools described in this report are desegregated schools. They represent a category about which there is much public concern. This concern is in part a reflection of doubt about the viability of schools which serve diverse student bodies. And desegregated schools are preeminently diverse, since in most cases--though not universally--racial diversity brings along with it diversity in social class and diversity in academic skills. Parents of middle class children and of highly skilled children, whether white or black, fear that the presence of lower class children will lead to the kind of conflict and even violence which have been popularly painted as common in city schools for the poor. Similarly some white and black parents fear that racial mixing, especially when it involves mixing of social classes, will lead to conflict and tension.

As I will show, the research literature confirms that there is frequent conflict in secondary schools between students and teachers where students perform poorly and are members of a racial minority or from lower class backgrounds. However, such conflict only rarely takes the dramatic or violent forms portrayed in the popular media. The research literature on desegregated schools suggests much less conflict and tension among students of different races than the popular image expects, but there is a common pattern of avoidance in situations where students can choose their companions.

All three of the schools described in these pages contained student bodies which were diverse in social class and achievement as well as race, though Mann's student body was a good deal less diverse than the others. All had in the main civil and constructive relationships between students and teachers and among students of different races. There was certainly less classroom conflict than is usually described in schools with as many lower class and/or minority low achievers as Adams and Owens had and, though comparison is difficult, there was probably more voluntary racial mixing at all three schools than is commonly described in the literature. The classrooms, cafetarias, playgrounds, and even the bathrooms and staircases of all three schools were safe and for the most part genial environments. There were some difficult relations between students and teachers and among students of different races at all three schools, but these involved a fairly small part of the total student bodies' experiences. That this was so was not a small accomplishment. The preceding pages suggest some of the characteristics and practices of the schools which led to this outcome.

This chapter will highlight those characteristics and practices by reviewing the relations between students and teachers and among students of different races at the three schools. Its focus will be on comparison of the three schools. The most striking element of this comparison is a reversal of the patterns of relationship which one might have expected by looking only at student recruitment, or the composition of the student bodies, of the three schools. Table 7-1

Table 7-1

Characteristics of Students in All Heartland Middle Schools and at Adams, Owens, and Mann

	Citywide Middle Schools	Adams	Owens	Mann
Initial Enrollment	12,407	326	377	450
Student Percent Minority	54	53	48	43*
Percent Free Lunches to Total Lunches	50	62	71	25*
FIFTH GRADE STANDARDIZED TEST SCORES:				
90% score at or below national percentile rank of:	80	80	77	96
75% at or below national rank of:	61	63	58	89
50% at or below national rank of:	33	34	26	74
25% at or below national rank of:	14	14	14	51
10% at or below national rank of:	6	8	6	33

*Estimates based on figures for the total Mann building.

Source: Heartland Public Schools, Profile of Schools and Heartland Public Schools Computer Data Files

compares the three in some demographic characteristics and in reading test scores at the end of the fifth grade before entrance; citywide data are included for comparison. Clearly, Adams and Owens are similar to each other and similar to citywide patterns. Both have about two thirds of students eligible for free lunch and half their students scoring well below the national median in reading. Mann, on the other hand, stands out as different with less than half as many students eligible for free lunch and three quarters of its students scoring above the national median. Based solely on the characteristics of the students (including their nomination for Mann by teachers as gifted or talented) one would expect far better student-teacher relations and probably better relations between children of different races (on the basis of greater similarity in social class and academic skills) at Mann than at the other schools. As the preceding pages have suggested, such a pattern did not in fact emerge. Rather, relations between students and teachers were formal and distant--though not for the most part combative--at Mann and relations among children of different races showed a good deal of strain although there were indicators of positive relationships as well. I will argue in the following pages that this pattern is not surprising, but in fact quite consistent with what literature we have on the antecedents of relationships in schools.

It is important to remember that these schools are being used here to highlight the importance of some organizational features and classroom practices which seem to be important to interpersonal relations in schools. The contrast between the schools will be emphasized to that end, but it casts Mann in a light which can be unfair to that school. Compared to the literature and to the accounts I heard of other schools in Heartland, Mann has relatively good student-teacher relations and interracial relations among the students. Owens and especially Adams seem to be unusual in a national context; Mann is far more typical.

SOURCES OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

There is by now quite a body of literature documenting a pattern of conflict between poorly achieving children and their teachers at the secondary level (e.g. Hargreaves, 1967; McDermott, 1974; Metz, 1978b;Stinchcombe, 1964; Werthman, 1963; and Willis, 1977). Both poor achievement and conflictual relations with teachers are related to low social class and minority racial status. Children from minority groups and from lower social classes may give up on effort in school because they think it will profit them little (Ogbu, 1974; 1978). They also may actively rebel in school for the same reason (Stinchcombe, 1964). Children from minority backgrounds or from lower social classes may be placed in lower tracks or ability groups for reasons which initially have to do with these ascribed characteristics. These placements may lead them to develop patterns of achievement and of rebellion which match their placement (Rist, 1973). Several studies suggest that capable children in low tracks are among the most active antagonists of teachers and the larger school--as well as the most inventive (Metz, 1978b;Rosenfeld, 1971; Werthman, 1963; Willis, 1977). Leacock (1969) suggests that among lower class children, teachers prefer children with average ability over those with high ability; while peers prefer those with high ability but low achievement. In other words teachers and peers are in collusion pushing able children from backgrounds where their futures are blocked into patterns of low achievement and leadership in opposition to the school. (See also McDermott, 1974.)

After doing research in two school systems where children in lower track classes were in chronic conflict with their teachers (Metz, 1976;

1978b), I found the co-operative and pleasant relationships at Adams, the first school in this study immediately striking. Part of my agenda as I worked in that school was to find the sources of the pleasant relationships which existed in almost all classes--but which the classes of the five teachers who were exceptions reminded me were indeed accomplishments, despite the easy naturalness of their atmospheres. Much of the analysis in Chapter Four centers around the answers I found as I looked at the structure and culture of Adams's life. The transformation from a grade level curriculum, to a set of skills with cumulative levels in which a child could enter and make progress at any level was important. Academic rewards based upon effort and individual progress rather than upon objective level of achievement were a necessary complement to this kind of curriculum. Both of these patterns took stigma away from the student who was below grade level for whatever reason and allowed both those students and their teachers to obtain official signs of progress if the students progressed beyond where they had started even if they failed to make the grade level standard during a single year.

Similarly, the classroom activity structures which broke the class into small groups and included very little whole class recitation gave privacy to the children with low skills. They did not have to use their energies inventing strategies to avoid public display of those skills. Such strategies often include finding a way to create enough classroom disturbance to be ejected before one's turn to read or cipher aloud. The assistant principal at Adams who worked simultaneously at a central city black school and had worked in both white and black working class schools commented on this pattern--and its absence at Adams.

> I've seen it. They've gone around the room calling on kids. And two calls before so and so, he just starts making jokes or hitting the girl next to him. Because it's far more acceptable among his peers to be kicked out of the room for being a clown, or sticking his hat on for the third time, than to stumble through reading outloud in front of twenty-nine other people.

In comparing traditional whole class recitation with classes that were broken up into small groups, Bossert (1979) found that in the first situation teachers engaged in more interaction with capable students who could supply the right answers, but in the second they spent more time with students who were having difficulty. At Adams a third of the students interviewed answered a question about what was distinctive about the school to give it the name of an alternative school by saying that the teachers help you more. All but one of the students giving this response had average or below average achievement. Another third, mostly above average in achievement, answered the question by saying you can go at your own pace. These answers suggest that the teachers did give the slower students helpful attention, while allowing the stronger students to feel free to move on without waiting for them. About a third of Adams students also mentioned their teachers when asked to explain why they liked certain classes or learned most from them. Only a tenth mentioned teachers in explaining why they liked some classes least or learned least from them.

Owens was very similar to Adams in having a curriculum which was not tightly tied to grade level. In fact because of its diversity and multifaceted character, it was even less tied to this standard. The multi-age character of its classes also downplayed the measuring of accomplishment against formal grade level. Like Adams it had academic rewards, narrative paragraphs in this case, keyed to effort and progress rather than to comparison of objective accomplishment. And like Adams its activity structure allowed students privacy and enabled teachers to work supportively with individuals. Like Adams, Owens had positively toned relations between students and teachers marked by little conflict.

In contrast, Mann's curriculum, academic rewards, and classroom activity structures were all of the traditional kind. Students who were behind grade level had to struggle with the common tasks and were judged inadequate if they did not meet objective norms whether or not they progressed. They even failed the courses and were threatened with not progressing to the next grade if they did not perform at the general level. Relations between students and teachers were distant, though only in a few cases chronically full of overt conflict. There was no more frequent open classroom conflict than at the other two schools. But Chapter Six suggests that the higher level of general unrest expressed in graffiti and hostility toward other students at Mann than at Owens or Adams reflected the tensions generated in the classroom among the low achievers by this pattern. The highest achievers (and some of their parents) also complained that they were not free to go at their own pace.

I suggested in the earlier chapters that the faculty cultures also affected relations between students and children. Adams teachers taught one another to treat the children respectfully as they would other adults. In team meetings when they discussed difficult children, they sought their motivations or at the very least shared possible arrangements which seemed to draw out their best behavior. At Owens teachers came to assume that knowing the children well was an advantage of open education. They sought to know each child as a whole individual and to develop his or her character in such a way that he or she would become an active learner without constant direction from the teacher. Individuals varied in their skill and commitment in working in this fashion, but this expectation that teachers worked as allies and advisers rather than opponents was pervasive in the school. At Mann on the other hand, difficult children were defined as opponents, as discipline problems. When they seemed to be acting out of some personal problem rather than a desire to cause difficulties they were referred to the counselor or psychologist or for evaluation for special education. The teachers' common pattern of remaining at their desks while students did seatwork; so that students came to them rather than teachers' circulating and stopping to help students as at the other two schools was expressive of a different attitude of the teachers toward the students at Mann in contrast to Adams and Owens.

Of course faculty culture was not independent of the curriculum, academic evaluation system, and classroom activity structures. Each had some effect on the other. The structures at Adams and Owens stressed the individuality and variability of the children and as Bossert (1979) suggests, the breaking up of the class into small groups allowed teachers to get to know students better. The broadly defined curriculum at Owens and the pattern of teacher-student conferences for planning curriculum, along with the self-contained classroom structures and continuity of the student-teacher bond over two or three years greatly increased the depth of student-teacher relations. The importance of these arrangements could be seen in the less personal and more structured approach of the specialized center teachers in contrast to the self-contained center teachers. At Mann the pattern of whole class recitation and the expectation for grading fairly against a single standard militated against teachers coming to know their students well as individuals as did teachers at Owens or Adams or their enacting a role of assistant rather than judge in the learning process. Since their roles were more formal and distant in the classroom, they knew their students less well and so did not have the capacity to be as perceptive or supportive with those who were not prospering.

Adams and Owens have not found the magical solution for the problem of diversity. The divided activity structures which dominated classroom time did not allow for the development of oral skills. Some teachers, at Owens especially, did seek to make up for this lack by scheduling oral reports and class meetings for discussion of a variety of academic and social issues. Since children had prior notice and were not asked to read aloud, they could work around low reading skills though they would have publicly to display their oral command of language.

Furthermore, if Adams and Owens protected the pride of the low achievers through privacy, that same privacy failed to feed the pride or ego of the high achievers. They did not have the opportunity to shine and be rewarded which such children regularly get in traditional classrooms. Adams's honor roll based on effort gave no special rewards to the student who not only worked hard but progressed beyond his or her peers. At Owens there was no honor roll and there was little emphasis on citywide activities such as the math track team (which did well and got much praise at Adams as at Mann). There were no academic exemplars. Thus academic rewards came solely through the private report card and whatever force the good opinion of one's teachers might carry for the individual. At Mann on the other hand, there were public rewards aplenty for the top achievers. Not only could they earn high grades against a single standard, but there were a plethora of competitive academic activities. And Mann was the only school where the test scores for the group clearly improved during their time in the school.

All of these schools had to struggle with academic diversity. And each worked most successfully with the students in whom it was most interested and the aspect of diversity with which it was most concerned. At Adams the needs of children who were doing poorly generally were considered more pressing and difficult to meet than the needs of children who were doing well. At Owens, though the school was restive with serving children with really low skills who were not equipped for its teaching style, the greatest concern was that children progress and that they learn to direct their own learning, not that they excel in objective accomplishment.[1] And at Mann, the needs of the ablest children came first in the eyes of some while those of the average in the group came first in the eyes of others. Those of the weakest clearly had lowest priority except for a few teachers. They were considered inappropriate to the school and thus a distraction from its goals. It is important that if Mann dealt least well with diversity, it also did not consider handling diversity a part of its mission. With the least diverse student body, its teachers found the problems caused by the need to deal with the diversity they did have the most onerous.

The three schools differed also in the priority they gave to the social relationships which the students developed. Adams gave them the most priority and Mann the least. The different arrangements at the schools, including the academic arrangements, affected the success of students' social relationships, especially those across races. In general these relationships prospered according to the degree of priority the schools gave to them, though the situation at Mann was greatly helped by the academic and social homogeneity of the majority of the student body.

SOURCES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

The literature on desegregated schools describes a pattern where black and white students generally work together when assigned to do so, but separate when they can voluntarily choose their friends. Some authors describe these patterns as the result of structural arrangements set by adults (e.g. Eddy, 1975; Noblit, 1979; Rist, 1978; Scherer and Slawski, 1979). Others show ways in which students' racial choices within the school are shaped by present and previous social experiences outside it which tend to discourage mixing across racial lines (Clement and Harding, 1978; Collins, 1979; Polgar, 1978; Sullivan, 1979). Some even describe situations where students seem eager to make tentative efforts to be friends across the lines of color but find it difficult to bridge cultural gaps without active adult assistance, which is not forthcoming (Hanna, 1982; Schofield and Sagar, 1979). Several of the studies describe more than one of these processes at work at the same time.

Patterns of Racial Interaction in the Three Schools

Compared to this literature Adams stands out as a school where students mix more in voluntary settings than is commonly described by these careful observers. This mixing seemed especially striking since most of the students had grown up in sharply segregated white and black neighborhoods and had gone to segregated schools until entering Adams or perhaps until a year or two before that, for the younger children.

Adams was not an ideal "colorblind" school, but there was considerable mixing among the races in voluntary settings, even though some whites and some blacks withdrew into knots of their own race when given a choice of companions. In interviews all but two of nineteen students claimed to have good friends of another race and all but two said they would prefer a high school which was half black and half white to one mostly of their own race. In the dining room and on the playground it was possible to see some groups which were all white, some which were all black, and some which were mostly of one race with just one or two of another, and some which were thoroughly mixed. One person who supervised lunchtime play for the seventh grade every day described their play patterns outdoors in the spring as follows:

> Every day you'd see one basketball game that has almost all white and Latin kids playing. You'd see another basketball game with all black kids. But boys and girls mixed. Then you'd see another game--that's the biggest game out there--that has white and black kids playing in it. That's the full court game.
>
> And you'd see a jump rope game that has almost always all black girls in it. Then you'd see a keep away game that would be maybe 70% white and 30% black. Then you'd see a bunch of kids standing around and talking that would be mixed racially.

This general pattern was consistent with my less extensive observation of all three lunch hours.

The following incident catches the tone of interaction in the school around issues both of discipline and of interracial relations.

> [In a unit meeting,] Mr. Stolz (a white teacher) said that he had heard his first racial slur this morning,

> the first in two years. He recounted the incident with a light tone. He had looked up to see Slim (apparently a black boy) and George Herbst (apparently white) square off at each other. Slim said, "What did you say?!" Then he just ran out of words and socked George, leaving a big red welt. Mr. Stolz sat both boys down and asked them what that was all about. Slim said George had called him a nigger. Mr. Stolz asked George if that were true and he said it was. Mr. Stolz told George he guessed he had gotten what he was asking for, and turned his attention back to the rest of the class. After class, he stopped both boys to follow up, but by then they had settled the matter themselves. Slim said George had apologized and they both said they were on OK terms again. So he let them go.

Such incidents were not common at Adams as Mr. Stolz indicated in saying this was the first racial slur he had heard in two years in the school. It seems to have been part of a personal argument between the two boys which they were able to work out between them; so that they left the room on amicable terms. In other words, a racial epithet was a strong insult thrown in the heat of anger with desire to hurt an individual and then apologized for afterwards; it was not something to be mumbled at strangers or written on the walls to insult a whole category of persons.

The comments of several students at Adams, both black and white, suggested that their experience at the school had changed their experience of race as they left their segregated neighborhoods and had affected their racial attitudes.

A white seventh grade boy with average achievement explained why he would prefer a mixed high school this way:

> Well when they first started integration I thought the black kids were real mean and all that. You know I'd never even met a person like that. And when I came here they were real nice. Some of 'em were. So I figure if they're nice here, then they can be nice there.

An eighth grade black girl, who was an average achiever according to teachers and who defined herself as a leader, expressed her observations on race tersely and unsentimentally. Asked if she had good friends who were not black, she named three girls then said, "They're really nice. I don't go by the skin color. I just go by the personality." She explained her choice of a racially mixed high school for the following year this way:

> Because I've been around too many black

> people for too long and I have to get adjusted; so when I get older I'll know not to just hang around blacks. To hang around blacks and whites. If God wanted everybody to be black he would have put them that way. If he wanted everybody to be white he would have put them that way. So I'll be friends with everybody. And that's why I am going to a black and white school next year.

A seventh grade black girl who was a strong student said she had hesitated to come to the school because she had not had much contact with whites and was worried about what it would be like. But after she came she discovered, she said with a beautific smile, that "They're just like me!"

A white eighth grade girl with average skills was the student in the sample with probably the strongest interracial friendships. The daughter of a factory worker, she came from the heavily blue collar West Side where, about the time of her birth, whites had turned back open housing marchers with bricks and broken bottles.

Interviewer:	And do you have any good friends, not just casual friends, who aren't white?
Ellie:	Yes. I have a lot of black good friends. We talk on the phone at night and we goof around. It's not that I'm--you know--prejudiced or anything, but I hang around with blacks more than the whites. Mostly.
Interviewer:	In general how do the black and white kids get along?
Ellie:	Terrific. They really do. Terrific. I've yet to know of a fight where a black and white were fighting because of race at this school. It's just terrific. I can't believe it. Like at _____ and _____ [desegregated neighborhood schools on the West Side]--I know people that go to both schools--there's fights almost every day because people are black and people are white. It's weird.

However, lest the picture seem too rosy, the reader must hear from one of the two students who claimed no friends of another race and preferred a segregated high school. A black seventh grade boy with low skills, he had been repeatedly set upon in a West Side neighborhood elementary school where he had been one of a small group of blacks at the beginning of desegregation. He had also had a bad experience in the seventh grade at one of the West Side junior high schools mentioned by the last speaker before transferring to Adams after a few weeks. He had apparently given up on whites and insulated himself from them:

Interviewer: In general how do the black kids and the white and Indian kids get along?

Bobby: Get along all right. Most of them. I don't know what they be doing. I don't be around them that much.

Interviewer: You mean, you're not around kids who are not black very much?

Bobby: I be around the black kids a lot. Playing basketball or eating around with them. We all eat together you know. The same big old group. I don't know what the rest of them do....

Interviewer: Well then the next time you go to school would you rather go to a school that was mostly black or would you rather to to one that's half black and half other colors?

Bobby: I would rather have it mostly black because I can't get along with white people that much.

Additionally a few students spoke of there being some fights in the school and some individual mean and destructive kids. However, while the students described were identified as black when they were identified by race at all, all of the students seemed to localize these activities to "some kids" or a few kids rather than to a whole racial group. The most bitter and general of these accusations came against "some of the black kids" from an eighth grade black girl with low skills.

At Owens students displayed very little tension over race, though they did often separate in the dining room and in classes where they could choose their own seats. However, the overlapping of white and black groups at the long tables in the dining room displayed a casual rather than tense separation. There were not clearly marked sections of the dining room for different racial groups, nor was there any aversion to contiguity.

I changed the form of my question on friendship after the study at Adams. Instead of directly asking students whether they had friends of another race, I asked them to list for themselves their five best friends in school, or as many as they had up to five whom they would call really good friends. I then asked several questions about these friends (how many they had known before coming, how many lived near them) closing with how many were white, black, or other. Table 7-2 reports their answers. Of the twenty-three interviewees at Owens, ten (seven white and three black) had friends only of their own race. Three (all black) named one friend of another race. And ten (six white, two black, and two "other") named two or more friends of another race. Put differently, 46% of the whites, 63% of the blacks, and

Table 7-2

Number of Students With Good Friends of Another Race

By Race

	Owens			Mann		
	White or Other	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
No friends of another race	57% (0)	33% (3)	43% (10)	56% (9)	21% (3)	40% (12)
1 friend of another race	0% (0)	38% (3)	13% (3)	13% (2)	21% (3)	17% (5)
2 or more friends of another race	46% (8)	25% (2)	43% (10)	31% (5)	57% (8)	43% (13)
Total	15	101% 8	99% 23	100% 16	99% 14	100% 30

100% of the "other" students named one or more good friends of another race when they were asked to list these friends outside the context of race.[2] Though other studies do not give directly comparable data, judging from their descriptions of student associations, this rate seems relatively high.

There was some cultural pressure toward having such friends. Some students who did not explained that they did have other friends of another race, just none in this closest group. There were however a few who said they simply get along best with their own race. When asked whether they preferred to go to a high school mostly of their own race or mixed about half and half, all but one of the twenty-one students who were asked the question chose a mixed school. Several emphasized the desireability of the half and half proportion in answering the question, saying that when one group is in the majority the other group is often discriminated against and that there grow up norms against interracial friendship.

Thus even though Jesse Owens seemed to have less thorough mixing of the races than Adams, it still seemed to be among schools with more rather than less mixing.

Mann's pattern of interracial association was more ambiguous. I have already suggested that many of the small tables in the dining room were mixed, though usually with only one or two of one race amid five or six of another. Classes were mixed in seating when teachers assigned seats, but tended to be separate when they did not. Teachers who supervised play outdoors perceived it as separate. Table 7-2 shows Owens and Mann to be rather similar in the overall number of interracial friendships. Of thirty Mann students asked to think of five friends and then later to name their race, twelve (nine white and three black) had no friends of another race, while five (two white and three black) had one, and fourteen (five white and eight black) had two or more. In summary 44% of the whites and 78% of the blacks had one or more friends of another race.

Table 7-3

Number of Students With Friends of Another Race, By Years in School

	Owens			Mann		
	1st Y.	2nd Y.	3rd Y.	6th	7th	8th
No friends of another race	57% (4)	43% (3)	33% (3)	18% (2)	40% (4)	60% (6)
1 friend of another race	14% (1)	0% (0)	22% (2)	9% (1)	10% (1)	30% (3)
2 friends of another race	29% (2)	57% (4)	44% (4)	73% (8)	50% (5)	10% (1)
Total	100% 7	100% 7	99% 9	100% 11	100% 10	100% 10

However, Table 7-3 shows that this similarity hides an interesting difference. It compares the number of friends of another race for students in the first, second or third year at Owens[3] with the number of friends of another race for students in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades at Mann. Comparison of the two shows that the trend of interracial friendship goes in opposite directions at the two schools. At Owens interracial friendship increases with exposure to the school, while at Mann (where sixth graders were interviewed in December, others in May or June) interracial friendship decreases with exposure to the school. The sample size is very small and the sample was purposively, not randomly, drawn so one must interpret these figures with reservation, but the striking character of the opposing trends suggests that the schools do provide differing contexts for the nurturance of interracial friendship.

One is reminded here of the racial slurs in graffiti on the doors to the building at Mann, on the staircase walls, and in the bathrooms. Also, when students were asked in the interviews whether students could get in trouble with other students of their own race for making friends across racial lines, fourteen out of thirty-one students at Mann said they could. These students often specified that black students were more likely to discipline their peers against interracial friendships than were white students and black girls were especially likely to do so.[4] At Owens and at Adams children indicated that there was not pressure to keep one's friendships within the racial groups.

However, even at Mann only 3 out of 28 students who answered the question on the preferred racial composition of their high school preferred a single race high school. All were white males rated by teachers as having high ability. Whites and high ability students were also particularly likely not to have friends of another race, but they often responded uncomfortably to my question, saying they have friends who are black or they get along with blacks, but when pressed about the race of the five students they had named as best friends admitting that all were white. Though blacks at Mann exerted pressure on each other to remain whithin their own group, especially the older blacks and the girls, it was the high ability whites who most often lacked friends of another race in the small interview sample. Girls were twice as likely to have no friends of another race as boys. It may be then, that the black girls were protecting themselves through norms of exclusiveness against a practical exclusion which ran against explicit norms among the whites.

It seems then that both Adams and Owens, but especially Adams, were schools which encourage unusually high levels of racial interaction in voluntary settings. The norms of both schools were clearly in favor of making friends across racial lines, though there were individuals at both schools who did not accept these norms. At Mann, some of the black students as a group did not accept these norms and high ability whites seemed especially likely not to act upon them. At Mann also there were more signs of generalized racial uneasiness in the form of racial slurs in graffiti and reports by both blacks and whites of racial insults and mild harassment. Given the more homogeneous character of Mann's student body and its higher level of achievement, leading to brighter career prospects, this pattern is the opposite of what one would have predicted without knowledge of internal school processes. Why then should Adams and Owens have created unusually good racial relations and why should Mann have created poorer ones than one would predict (and ones which seemed to deteriorate with experience in the school)?

Sources of Patterns of Racial Interaction

If one compares the nature of arrangements within these three schools to the literature on desegregation, the puzzle in the differences among the three schools disappears. Adams, and to a lesser degree Owens, displayed many of the characteristics which both social psychological experiments and naturalistic field studies have found to be associated with positive interracial relations. Mann lacked most of those characteristics.

Many of these characteristics can be brought together under the rubric of social arrangements which encourage equal status contact between diverse groups. The theoretical point here, first argued by Allport (1954) and followed up in the social psychological literature revolves around the equality of persons who are in contact, not around the simple fact of contact. Thus if two groups are brought together where one is dominant in the larger society, that dominance is likely to continue unless social arrangements in the specific context in some way cancel it out. (See Cohen [1980] for a summary of this literature.) In desegregated schools where whites often have stronger academic skills than blacks, this difference which is crucial to the activities of the school can underscore and re-enforce the generally dominant status of whites.

At Adams and Owens the structure of the curriculum, academic rewards, and the classroom activity structure drew attention away from differences in academic capacities of students. Furthermore, the mix of students included both capable blacks and large numbers of whites with weak academic skills. Thus when Adams classrooms were grouped according to skill, most of the within classroom groups, often all of them, were mixed in race. At worst the top and bottom groups--out of four or five in each classroom--would have only one race or be dominated by one race. At Owens differences in academic skills were even less visible since there was not a common curriculum and classes were multi-aged. And Owens also had a range of ability in both racial groups including many whites with low skills.

At Mann, by contrast, achievement was highly visible in the students' work on a single task with a single grading standard in an activity structure centered around whole class recitation. While there were capable black students, they were not a majority, and there were few white students with low skills but comparatively many black students. Thus the students who had academic difficulty were black and an association of race and academic capacity was easily made.

Judgments of status and hierarchy have less weight in forming social relationships when persons who interact see one another displaying a variety of valued skills. Individuals' relative capacity at several different skills is likely to vary, so that the same individuals will not be competent or incompetent across the board. Where interacting persons see one another display only one set of skills, consensus on relative worth will form much more quickly. Furthermore, individuals are more likely to maintain a positive self-image in contexts where they can display several skills, at some of which they perform fairly well (Rosenholtz and Rosenholtz, 1981; Simpson, 1981). Bossert (1979) found in his study of third and fourth graders that friendships were related to the hierarchy of academic skills in classrooms where only that skill could be displayed, but that they cut across academic ability in classrooms where a variety of kinds of activities were regularly pursued.

At Adams there was a variety of activities in which all students participated. Every unit (or grade) had to develop four prolonged units of study which crosscut the various subjects. Some of these had traditional academic content, but some were only partly academic, such as the sixth grade study of transportation, and some were primarily non-academic, such as the seventh grade "Who Am I?" In addition, students were heavily involved in extracurricular activities such as intramural athletics, camping club, a camera club, and a large scale musical play which involved a large cast, costume designers and seamstresses, and set builders and painters. All but three of the nineteen interviewees participated in at least one such activity. Students thus had ample opportunity to see one another displaying a variety of skills.

Owens had fewer extracurricular activities, but the open and interactive character of the classroom routine and the variety of the curriculum allowed students to display several facets of themselves.

At Mann the skills displayed in class were more limited; extracurricular activities were fewer in number and extent (and if the interview sample was representative, fewer students participated). The most visible activities involved the same kinds of skills which were valued in the classroom. At Mann there is particular relevance in Bossert's (1979) findings on the correlation of friendship with academic standing in whole class recitation classrooms and the lack of such correlation in classrooms with activity structures which broke the class up. If friendships at Mann were made along lines of academic capacity, then the particular racial isolation of high ability whites may reflect the isolation of the top achievers where there were few blacks with comparable achievement.

Ethnographic studies of desegregated schools have also noted the importance of participating together in groups with varied agendas for fostering cross-racial contacts. Schofield and Sagar (1979) make such observations and connect them to social psychological studies which suggest that physical proximity, the opportunity for interaction, and the chance to see one another in a variety of activities over a considerable period of time decrease stereotyping of outgroups. Clement and Harding (1978), writing out of an anthropological tradition, note that elementary school students who participated in identifiable groups whose members were given a common equal status, treated as a unit, and expected to co-operate toward common ends developed more mutually helpful interaction across racial lines than did other students. Rosenbaum and Presser (1978), writing out of macrosociological traditions, noted more voluntary interracial interaction and mutual support among students who participated in co-operative small groups around artistic and dramatic tasks than in the rest of a gifted and talented student body.

Aside from these issues of equal status contact, there were differences among the three schools in the amount of face-to-face contact and time in which to become acquainted given to the students. At Adams students were seated around tables facing one another. They were assigned to those tables in groups which were almost always racially integrated on the basis of their skills on the particular task in hand. Thus the students who were together were working on the same task and had roughly similar skills at it. They were seated available for group interaction and the norms of the classroom allowed quiet conversation. Children who did not know each other had a chance to become acquainted; they had one shared topic of conversation in the common task. Where these groups fostered acquaintance, those acquaintances could become the nucleus for further contact between the same individuals or between those individuals and their other friends in the lunchroom or on the playground.

There is a social psychological tradition which suggests that when students co-operate on a common task they develop more positive attitudes toward one another (e.g. Johnson and Johnson, 1978; Slavin and Madden, 1979).[5] Though students at Adams did not formally co-operate, each table had a common task and it was possible to discuss it and work together in understanding it as students around a table read the same materials and did the same written tasks.

At Owens students also had face-to-face proximity around a table. But the groups were often self-chosen groups of persons who were already friends and frequently of the same race. And they were less often working on the same task. In rooms where teachers assigned racially mixed groups to tables, some of the benefits experienced at Adams were probably felt, but this pattern did not extend across the school.

At Mann students did not have face-to-face contact in classes. As I described in Chapter Six, when they interacted during time devoted to seatwork the pattern of chairs allowed them to choose among eight conversational partners and encouraged small groups previously acquainted to interact, rather than including a group of four to eight placed around a table.

Studies of whole schools have also suggested that the equalization of status between racial groups of students is affected by the mixture of races in the staff of the school and their relative status. In the three schools studied here, this variable also varied in the same way as the intimacy among the students. At Adams the principal and curriculum co-ordinator were black. Thirty-one percent of the total staff was black, excluding the aides. At Owens, the assistant principal and counselor, neither of whom were highly visible figures yet both of whom had higher status than teachers, were black. Twenty-eight percent of the staff, not counting aides were black. At Mann, the only black with higher status than the teachers was the counselor. The staff was twenty-three percent black, not counting the aides.

Not only was the physical presence of blacks greatest at Adams and least at Mann, but the influence of blacks in school policy and the relevance of respect for ethnicity and the importance of interracial relations as a school goal was ordered in the same way. At Adams, in large part from the initiative of the black principal, self-respect for all ethnic groups and good mutual understanding between children of different ethnic groups was a high priority. It was expressed in numerous collective activities. It was visibly on the agenda at Owens, but received less emphasis. At Mann, while these goals were certainly not denigrated at any official level, they received very little explicit attention except from a few staff members, most of whom were black but not in important leadership positions. As I have already suggested, some white teachers considered it inappropriate to "force integration" by assigning children of different races to contiguous seats. Some seemed to have an unspoken resentment of the presence of black children who made the student mix less homogeneously academically gifted.

This strain in the culture of the white faculty which valued black children less and tied this lower valuation to a lower estimation of their academic capacities as a group probably communicated itself to students. It combined with the single curricular and evaluative standard to separate white and black children, especially those performing very well or very poorly.

CONCLUSION

The comparison of these three schools then underscores the analysis presented in Chapters Four and Five suggesting that Adams and Jesse Owens developed especially good student-teacher relations because the character of their curricula, academic rewards, and activity structures protected low achievers from stigma and provided them with a fresh opportunity to make officially validated academic progress even if they were working below grade level. These schools also had faculty cultures which stressed supportive and respectful attitudes toward the children. These socially valued attitudes were made easier to hold by the structures which allowed teachers to work with individuals and small groups and to help the slow learners more than they could in interaction with whole classes of diverse ability. Mann stands here for traditional schools. It had more problems than the other two schools, because it did not have the structural supports for low achievers, but it did not have great difficulty between students and teachers because there were few low achievers, and classes treated as wholes had less diversity than was present at the other schools. Its faculty culture was perhaps more critical of students, or at least no less critical, even though the students were more selected, because the faculty had less opportunity to become personally acquainted with them, personal relations with students were less important to the faculty than at the other schools, and antagonism toward black students among white teachers from Atlantic Avenue lingered and was fostered by their belief that the admission of lower-skilled black children made the student body poorly suited to the alternative program.

Relatively cordial relations among white and black students at Adams and Owens were fostered by the equalization of students' status through the curriculum, academic rewards and activity structures, while such equalization did not occur at Mann. Further, the variety of activities in which students engaged together at Adams and Owens allowed students to see one another in settings where the hierarchy of individuals' skills varied, while both classes and extracurricular activities at Mann provided fewer such opportunities. The tables at Adams and Owens, especially at Adams where unacquainted students of different races with similar skills were assigned to be together, encouraged contact among children of different races, while the seats in rows facing forward at Mann did not. The racial composition of the staffs and their related priorities upon the development or reenforcement of ethnic pride and cross-ethnic understanding and contact also had an effect upon the students at the three schools.

NOTES

[1] As I indicated in the postscript to Chapter Five, this pattern is changing at Owens, because of pressures for evidence of mastery of traditional academic skills at a high level in comparison to other schools.

[2] Students sometimes named these friends, especially at Jesse Owens. I did not write down these names, but I noticed at Jesse Owens that students very frequently named one or two of the opposite sex in this group, something which was much rarer at Mann.

[3] These categories were used at Owens because many students enter the school in the seventh or even the eighth grade. At Mann few enter after the sixth.

[4] I interviewed a middle class black mother with daughters at Mann and at Adams. She said the girl at Mann had only black friends

and that the black girls called others Oreos if they made friends with whites. Her sister at Adams was part of a group of friends including blacks and whites of both sexes who had found each other in the sixth grade and stayed friends therafter.

[5] Cohen (1980) cautions that such co-operation can re-enforce feelings of superiority and inferiority if steps are not taken to be sure it is equal status co-operation rather than that of white tutors and black tutees.

Chapter Eight

Heartland's Magnet Schools in Perspective

This research was undertaken with a double purpose. It was designed to help to clarify for researchers the organizational processes within schools which affect the implementation of innovations by shaping the total character of the organization. It was also designed to clarify for policymakers processes which emerge within school districts and individual schools that shape the character of magnet schools as they develop from precept to practice.

The three magnet middle schools described here shared some common characteristics. All were subject to the influences of the same community, school board, and central office. All drew their students on a voluntary basis within racial quotas from the same pool of potential students. But they differed in their educational innovations and the point in their own histories and in the development of desegregation at which they became magnets. They differed in the locations within the city and the plants they were given. They differed in the prior experience and the socially shaped culture of their faculties. They differed in the reputations and the student constituencies which they developed in their relations with the wider community. Thus while this report is in part limited to an account of how magnets developed within the special conditions of Heartland, it discusses magnet schools which developed under varied conditions in varied ways.

The chapters describing the schools have followed the issues which were most salient at each school. I have attempted in part to tell the story of each school as I saw it acted out in daily practice and as it was perceived and told to me by both the adults and the students in that school. Though different issues were in the forefront of consideration at each school, it was possible to use a common framework to analyze the sources of the shape of each school. Emphasis upon the elements of the framework varied from school to school.

Chapter Two discussed the common elements in the schools' situation as magnet schools. Chapter Three presented a series of influences on the organizatonal character of schools which are important to an understanding of the distinctive nature which each school developed. This chapter returns to these topics. It deals first with the organizational character of the schools, reviewing the influences which appeared to be important in the development of a distinctive character at all three schools. If this analysis has been accurate, then an understanding of the conditions facilitating and impeding an innovation requires knowledge of all these influences in a school and of their interaction with one another. The second half of the chapter looks at these schools as instruments of policy and asks about the character of magnets more generally.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF MAGNET SCHOOLS

I have described the character of the three schools studied here in some detail in order to give a sense of the interweaving of the particular with the general. Each school was subject to idiosyncratic influences from its history and from the impact of particular personalities or combinations of personalities. But each school was also affected by social processes common to all three. The participants were for the most part much more aware of the idiosyncratic influences, especially the impact of crucial events and of vivid personalities, than of the common social processes. Yet, for the most part the events and the personalities had an impact which was shaped and mediated by the social processes. To the observer familiar with a range of similar schools through observation and descriptions available in the literature, the social processes were more determinative in the schools' lives than were the idiosyncratic elements. Individuals were constrained by role demands. What was taken for the impact of personality was often the impact of social influences bearing upon that individual's roles in mixture with his or her style of responding to those demands.

It is important also that all of the influences shaping the school's character worked in concert and in mutual interaction with each other. Thus, tempting as it may be to draw out a single influence as crucial it would be a distortion to do so. One can not understand these schools as innovative schools simply by looking at their blueprints for innovation and whether they were or were not put into classroom practice. Too much was at work in mediating the translation from blueprint to action to make such a mode of questioning fruitful. Similarly, one can not look to a single practice or location--such as the principal's actions--as the fount of all that happened in the school even though such a view offers a tempting promise of openess to reform. The importance of each of the elements that played a part in shaping the schools varied from one school to another as each played a different part in the overall mixture of influences upon that school.

Influences on School Character

The extent and kind of innovation. The schools differed in the degree to which their innovations required alterations in traditional forms of school organization. Initially, I expected the degree of alteration required to affect the success, or at least the difficulty, of the school's efforts to become distinctive. Jesse Owens had the most complex task, as open education required extensive changes in traditional school goals, technical approaches, and social structure. It also required recruitment of students who were somewhat distinctive in having reading skills which were at least near to grade level and who were somewhat open to a distinctive kind of academic activity and social relationship.

Adams's formal IGE innovation required a good deal of alteration in traditional school organization, but less than Owens's. It left traditional school goals more or less untouched, except in specifying them more concretely. But it altered technical means for reaching those goals and made changes in secondary social structure. Adams sought distinctiveness and innovation on an informal level as well, however. It changed traditional secondary school goals in laying more stress upon the quality of personal relationships between students and adults. Though fewer adults were fully enthusiastic, it also set as a goal students' having the opportunity and developing the capacity for constructive relationships with diverse peers including those of different races.

Mann's formal innovation was the least extensive, since it was based mostly in the recruitment of a distinctive gifted and talented student body. However, there were a set of vague expectations for distinctive goals and means which went along with the title of the program and its recruitment. These expectations aroused anticipation of changes in goals or techniques. But the vague expectations included both acceleration and enrichment which often required different goals and contradictory technical means and social structures. The vagueness and incompatibility of expectations set up impediments to practical change of traditional patterns from the very definition--or better lack of clear definition--of the innovation.

Thus, someone told only that one school was an open education school, one an IGE, and one a gifted and talented school,might reasonably expect, other things being equal, the most thorough innovation to occur in the gifted and talented school where the least change would be required and the least thorough in the open education school where the most change would be required. But in these three schools other things were emphatically not equal, and in fact the order of thoroughness of implementation of the innovations was precisely the reverse, with the most in the open education school and the least in the gifted and talented school. Furthermore, Adams ironically did a less thorough job of implementing its straightforward technical IGE innovation than of implementing its formally unannounced changes in goals and relationships despite the subtler and more personally demanding alterations in behavior required for the latter.

School buildings, logistics, and schedules. The physical plants which the schools were given affected their characters and their ability to develop their innovations. The size of the rooms and their relations to each other, and the size and design of the hallways had an impact, making some schools much more hospitable to changes in classroom activity structure and much more personally intimate than others. The size of the buildings affected the size of the student body, and the amount of crowding in the building affected the kind of activities possible. Even here effects were complex, however. Owens needed its relatively uncrowded building for its activities. Crowding at Adams and Mann had opposite effects. At Adams it produced intimacy and personal contact; the small lunchroom and playground required separate lunch and recreation periods for each unit which reduced the operative size of the school in the students' experience. The use of teachers' rooms for bad weather recreation pushed the teachers into the lunchroom where they developed solidarity and socialized one another into the faculty culture's values on respectful treatment of students. At Mann, on the other hand, crowding limited curricular and extracurricular opportunities, required rigid scheduling, and created tensions in faculty who had to share their rooms.

The temporal schedules of the schools affected their programs. At Owens time was very flexibly used, and at Adams though there were formal periods, units were able to alter a large part of their schedules by mutual agreement among the four team members for any given day or week. There were many schoolwide events which altered the schedule as well. At Mann, however, the large number of students in the building as a whole and the needs of the high school encouraged the use of a traditional secondary bell schedule. Disruptions of it required considerable logistical effort and were not lightly undertaken.

The locations of the schools also had an effect. Adams was easy to reach by city bus and so could draw students from more than three quarters of the elementary schools in the city. It was also on racially neutral territory and had no older teenagers to influence students' behavior. Owens was within the black area of the city, although near its northern edge. Many of its black students appeared to choose it because it was in their neighborhood rather than because it was an open education school. These students and their families did not always find open education congenial; so they required a good deal of effort from the school to persuade them to its ways. Further many had low skills which were not well-suited to the program. Its location may also have discouraged some white families who did not want their children waiting for city buses near the school.

Mann's location somewhat southeast of Owens in a black neighborhood of well-kept houses was not as important to it, since both middle school and high school students arrived and left by yellow bus. It may have discouraged some students from the West Side, whose bus ride would have been extremely long, from attending however. Concern with the security of the building and students from possible threats by neighborhood teenagers was a source of some of the heavy use of staff time for surveillance.

Students' characteristics and behavior. All of the schools were affected by the fact of having racially diverse student bodies. They varied in the explicit attention they gave to racial diversity and to using it as a tool for intercultural learning.

The student bodies were all also socially and academically diverse, though much less so at Mann than at the other two schools. The mix of academic skills had an important impact on the way in which both Owens and Mann were able to translate their planned innovations into a practical program. Both schools found the academic characteristics of their students inhibited the kind of innovative approach the teachers would have liked to take. At Adams the varied student body was relatively easily handled by the IGE approach,[1] though several teachers were relieved when later classes did not contain the very advanced students of the earlier classes so that the range was somewhat narrowed.

The schools also differed in the correlations of race, social class, and academic ability within the student mix. Both Adams and Owens had significant numbers of whites from poor families with shaky academic skills. Race, class, and achievement were not tightly associated, especially at Adams. At Mann, though there were a few blacks with very strong skills and many who were average for the school, the lowest achievers and the students from poor backgrounds were almost all black. This association affected blacks'status vis-a-vis the school and racial relations among the students.

The students also affected the schools through their collective response to it as a student body. This collective response was shaped both by the student mix which was recruited and by the experiences which the school provided the students. The students' collective response then became an influence shaping the adults' understandings of their tasks, their overall construction of a program, and their daily actions. These in turn affected the students' behavior. Thus the relation between the school's program and the students' collective response quickly became circular.

At Adams teachers were encouraged in their respectful and friendly treatment of students, and the basic assumptions of the faculty culture were confirmed, by the students' generally co-operative behavior. However, those few teachers who treated the students with hostility received their feelings back with interest. As a consequence of those experiences with students, they also were confirmed in their (different) beliefs and feelings about the students and became less susceptible to peer socialization.

At Owens, teachers were similarly re-enforced in their belief in open education and its benefits by the experience of developing mutually trusting relationships with individual students and seeing several visibly grow in their capacity for self-direction. At Owens, as at Adams, teachers who encouraged such relationships less and guided such development with less skill received fewer rewards from their students and had less reason vigorously to pursue the school's special approach.

At Mann, the students' formal selection for academic or other skills and their informal selection for ability to get along well with teachers combined with the feeling of many students that it was a privilege to be there, to make most predisposed to liking of the school and co-operation with it. They remained obedient and co-operative even in response to behavior on the part of teachers which might have drawn more alienated or combative responses from a less select student body. Those students who felt out of place or rejected by the school or individual teachers seemed to express their feelings indirectly through encouraging racial separation and solidarity and through graffiti or occasional verbal or physical aggression toward other students.

The circular character of the relationship between the overall shape of the experiences which the adults constructed for the students, the adults' daily actions and students' collective response was not highly visible at any of these schools because students responded with general good will and co-operation at all three. They affected the schools by encouraging the teachers and supporting them in their efforts. Such effects are less visible than the constraints an angry or restless student body can impose.

Political influences. These schools were all important instruments in the overall political response of the school board and the central office to the court's order for desegregation. As such their internal lives were profoundly shaped by external influences. Owens was already an innovative desegregated school, but both the other schools received their particular innovations and their desegregated student bodies by fiat from above (though Mrs. Michaels had some say in the kind of innovation which would be used). Both Owens and Mann experienced physical moves which were decided upon primarily for ends unrelated to the needs or characteristics of the schools.[2] Both caused serious disruptions to their innovative programs and their general welfare. Parents' desires expressed to the central office or the school board have led to central office rulings which shaped internal practice with varied effects on the schools.

As important as the actual decisions affecting the schools which came down from above much more frequently than in neighborhood schools in stable systems, were expectations of the possibility of such decisions. Thus Adams has not been moved, but the staff has acted in the knowledge that such a move might be imminent for four years. And Mann has not been moved out of its combination with the high school, but the expectation that it always had only one more year to be there has affected its internal life. All the schools were constantly aware that they were under extraordinarily close supervision and that comments by parents, the media, or outside visitors would receive more than average attention at the central office. Their actions were shaped by that knowledge.

School history. Each of these innovative schools had a continuous history that went back at least seven years prior to the study, though they had been magnet schools for only two to four years. None was organized as an innovative school from its inception, though Jesse Owens had been an annex to Rodgers only for a very short time and had been an innovative school, though not a magnet school, for eight years at the time of the study. All had experienced a break in continuity and a reorientation as they became magnet schools, though for Jesse Owens that break came in its physical move and the sudden expansion of its staff and student body, not in taking on a new educational approach.

At each school its history remained with it, shaping its current practices and tone. At Owens and Mann the faculty who had been together in the schools' previous buildings maintained a continuing identity, social solidarity, and set of cultural assumptions which the teachers who had come since the move did not entirely share, though some individuals did become assimilated. At Owens the new teachers were a fairly large group and developed some solidarity and common perspectives of their own. There was a slow blending of the two groups both in social contact and in point of view. At Mann there had been less time for this blending to occur. Further, the views of the older group were less programmatic and less well-defined. They seemed only to socialize individual newcomers who were initially sympathetic to their point of view and were in close contact with them in departments or teams.

At Adams there was more continuity between Williams Annex and the new Adams Avenue school. Newcomers arrived in small numbers mostly to replace teachers who left to follow husbands or bear and rear children. They were assimilated to the group as they arrived and were not set apart from the continuing teachers. Every one was identified as an Adams teacher and status as a continuing Williams Annex teacher was not socially important--though the cultural beliefs and patterns of behavior started at Williams Annex were.

Faculty culture. The idea of "school climate" has gained some currency in recent years, but there has been little work suggesting the insights to be gleaned from looking at the common perspectives developed among teachers at a school as a subculture. At the schools studied here a core of teachers shared a common set of assumptions so much taken for granted that they were not perceived as assumptions. Further, this common point of view was actively taught to newcomers and those newcomers who resisted it came to be rejected. These are characteristics of a subculture.

If one looks at teachers' shared perceptions, expectations, and premises for action in this way, then one will expect that perspectives and even statements of fact which seem to the participants to be simply accurate summaries of experience can best be understood as cultural interpretations of experience. One will also expect that these perspectives and assumptions will be resistant to change even under changing circumstances.

At Owens the faculty judged students mostly in terms of their capacity to direct their own learning. They were frustrated by students' low skills and slow academic progress but few of the teachers from the old building (except some of the black ones) were led by those frustrations to question the appropriateness of the school's methods. The gradual impact of the new teachers who did not share the culture of the old teachers led to a process of assimilation and an increasing willingness to modify the school's methods in the face of students' characteristics and performance. Pressures from the district were leading to much more direct hierarchical pressure in the same direction. This pressure was made somewhat acceptable by the strong cultural value on solidarity in fighting for the survival of the program, as that survival seemed to require accomodation to these pressures.

At Mann, the core culture bearers from Atlantic brought from there their concern with maintaining their pride. They also brought patterns of psychic withdrawal from responsibility for their teaching which they attributed to the characteristics of the student mix and the faults of the administration. The cultural character of these beliefs was evident in their maintenance intact despite the marked changes in the kind of students they were teaching and in the persons in administrative positions.

At Adams the faculty maintained and supported perspectives and behavior toward the students which the principal had played an active part in establishing even after several had developed a more conflictual relationship with her over the introduction and the enforcement of the IGE innovation.

It is significant that the elements of distinctiveness which were best enacted at the three schools were the two which had support in faculty cultures. Thus Jesse Owens in general did pursue the plan it said it did. That plan and the philosophical premises which supported it were well embedded in the faculty culture. Adams Avenue similarly developed distinctively supportive teacher-student relationships. Most teachers were also agreeable to making logistical adjustments in the classroom and in the schedules of the units and the school to encourage students in extra activities which contributed to their knowledge of one another as multi-skilled persons and to their mutual understanding and respect across ethnic lines.

But Adams was less successful in wholly implementing its formal IGE innovation about which the faculty were collectively divided and ambivalent. And Mann was able to develop only portions of a distinctive educational offering. These changes were not supported in the faculty cultures.

Faculty culture does not grow up solely within a school. It depends in part upon the educational philosophy, skills, and general outlook brought to the school by the mix of persons who become the faculty. None of the schools here was able to recruit its faculty on the basis of either self-selection or the principals' (or central offices') selection of persons suited to its distinctive approach. All simply inherited existing faculties. Even when new positions came open at the schools, the teachers placed in them often had not asked for those schools. At all three schools there were new teachers who told me they had been surprised and in some cases dismayed to be placed there.

Where new faculty recruitment is routine, and therefore haphazard with regard to educational philosophy and practice, an existing faculty culture will have a particularly strong effect because newcomers are not likely to have much in common around which to form a collective dialogue with the taken for granted definitions of reality in the school. Principals with a charge to implement an innovation who wish to change the definitions of reality in an existing faculty culture, as well as the actions which flow from them, will have a difficult task.

The principal. Though it is part of the conventional wisdom among practitioners and many researchers that principals play a key part in determining the character of a school, principals operate under significant constraints. There are many elements of school life which they can not change without presenting their case at length to higher officials. Examples would be the major outlines of both the curriculum and the daily schedule of the school. (Though, as Jesse Owens's early history suggests, determined efforts on such issues may bear fruit.) In most cases they have limited powers to choose new teachers. In Heartland they had virtually no power over new appointments, except in defining the position to be filled.

Within the school, though they can interact directly with the students and can initiate and run some special programs themselves, for the most part they must affect the school through affecting the actions of others. Those others may enthusiastically co-operate, passively acquiesce, or openly or secretly subvert the principal's ends even when they obey explicit commands. And classrooms are sufficiently isolated so that a good many explicit commands can be quietly ignored when a teacher so chooses.

In the Heartland magnet schools the principals were even more than usually constrained. They were accountable to their immediate superiors and to the central office and board more generally for creating distinctive programs from the time the schools opened as magnets and for keeping a supply of satisfied parental volunteers of both black and white races. To meet these expectations they had to behave in some fairly well-defined ways which might or might not have been congenial to them under other circumstances. Specifically, where the innovations were new, they had to insist that the teachers follow them whether the teachers agreed with them or not. They had to emphasize the formal hierarchy of office and their legitimate right to give commands. They had to issue sanctions to see that these commands were followed.

This behavior relied upon the formal definition of schools as bureaucratically organized, but ran against the informal autonomy of the closed classroom door and teachers' semi-formal status as professionals who can claim autonomy on the basis of distinctive expertise. Some teachers held that the innovations were unrealistically conceived, that they could not reasonably or responsibly do as they were told if they were to maintain their own professional standards or to serve the children's educational needs. Some held that they did not have the resources in students, time, or space to do as they were asked. Teachers complied to a great degree with principals' commands, especially in concrete actions which could be easily checked, but many were resentful. A climate of resistance to both the principals and the innovations was created.

These processes took place mostly at Adams and Mann where the innovations were imposed quickly and from the top down. At Owens where the innovation had been planned and adopted partly through faculty planning and where it had had longer to take root, and had done so under less pressure, the principal had a more collegial style. However, he did not escape criticism for opposite reasons from some teachers who would have liked him to use the formal powers of his office to make decisions unilaterally, thus saving the teachers time and clarifying situations for them. And as the school came under increasing pressure to change its innovation, Mr. Osten began to act like the principals who had to impose an innovation. There is some evidence that he then was criticized by some faculty for the same reasons as the other principals. Mrs. Michaels, on the other hand, was able to relax the peremptory quality of her approach once the innovation became established and the program developed a reputation for success and a parental following.

Within these constraints, the principals did have some distinctive influence on their schools. Mrs. Michaels's priorities were reflected in the cordial relationships which grew up between students and teachers and the frequent crossing of racial lines among the students. Dr. Joliet's and Mr. Mueller's priorities were reflected in the good hall order and general courtesy which prevailed in public relations between students and teachers at Mann as well as in a stress upon academic endeavors and the successes of competitive teams.

Internal politics. At all of the schools, but especially at Adams and Mann, one set of influences on the adults' relationships and through them on the program arose from conflicts among the adults which were encouraged by dissidents whose motives seemed to have more to do with their personal situations than with the character of the school. At both Adams and Owens there were teachers with education and credentials beyond those needed for classroom teaching who were ambitious to rise and felt blocked by their principals. In both cases the principals judged them to lack competency in some way related to their ambitions, but neither made that judgment public knowledge nor, of course, did the dissidents. In both cases an acrimonious personal relationship between the teacher and the administrators grew up. Both teachers developed an external power base, in one case in the union and in the other among parents. And both teachers provided a focus for faculty discontent over various issues of school policy and over the principal's general style and specific actions.

Consequently, in both these schools, the attitudes of a sizable minority of the faculty toward the principal's directives--including many which were central to the innovation or to the general program of the school--were seriously affected by persons whose primary agenda had more to do with their individual situation than with the general issues they brought up before others. At Owens there were a few teachers who seemed to follow the same pattern. But they were neither as determined nor as active in their efforts at proselytism. And their complaints fell on much less fertile ground.

It is important that in the first two cases, the dissidents were able to have a social impact on enough others to affect the general faculty mood because they raised issues which were of general organizational relevance which engaged others who did not share their personal motives. Thus the dissident at Adams could not have had so much effect had some teachers not already resented the requirement to follow IGE, had some not been restless with being subject to the authority of a black or a woman, had some not questioned whether the ablest students were being sufficiently stimulated, and so forth. Similarly, the dissident at Mann, who seemed to be more passive or more cautious, would not have had an effect had other faculty;not been used to a pattern of blaming the administration and the students for classroom problems, not had their pride nettled by doubts about their capacity to teach the gifted and talented and not been uneasy with the vague and two-pronged nature of the innovation.

These internal political struggles also were important as they came to affect the organizational functioning of the schools. The feelings which the dissidents were able to generate, or to increase, in a larger group of faculty drew the energy and attention of that group to a struggle with the principals, or to criticism of them. These energies were then not available for individual or collective activities pursuing the innovation or for other work with students. And indeed the affected faculty experienced diminished enthusiasm for even attempting to pursue the school's innovations.

The interdependence of influences on school character. This discussion of influences on school character has pulled out a number of items which need to be considered separately as one asks how a school will incorporate an innovation into its overall character or how an ordinary school will develop its internal life. But as should have been clear from the discussion of the varied items, they profoundly affect one another and work in combination.[3] Thus the faculty culture may be shaped in part by the principal and the principal's behavior will be shaped by the need to interact with it. Internal politics affect the school in intimate interaction with the content of faculty culture (and faculty recruitment) and the principal's administrative style. Similarly, the practical impact of external political pressures depends upon the character of the innovation, of student recruitment, of faculty culture, and of the principal's style.

In practice then these influences constantly combine and shape one another. One can separate them only analytically. Policymakers working with a rational model of organizational functioning sometimes assume that an innovation can be inserted into the school's functioning without being transformed. If the three schools studied here are typical and the analysis accurate, policymakers should assume instead that an innovation will be caught up in the web of influences identified here and that actual practice in the school and classroom, as well as the meaning of that practice for students and teachers, may be seriously altered.

Competing Organizational Models

In Chapter Three I briefly sketched five organizational models, with an emphasis upon their definitions of relations of authority and of the locus of decision making, or of the power to shape events. A reading of the foregoing description of influences on the internal character of the three schools suggests that these models are not alternative views of the whole of an organization's functioning, but rather a set of useful perspectives which give us access to varied facets of it.

While I anticipated that the rational bureaucratic model of organizational processes would be insufficient, and the analysis of the schools indicates that much else must be taken into account, it should not therefore be dismissed. This model is the basis for the formally defined character of schools. The principals made a good deal happen as they wanted it to happen by calling upon the powers conferred upon them in this formal model. Even where teachers were inclined to grumble and to criticize the wisdom of specific commands, they rarely challenged their legitimacy. If they were inclined not to follow them, they felt they must call upon strong arguments in support of such formally illegitimate behavior or else hide it. And indeed at both Adams and Mann the principals had a good deal of success in using the powers conferred by this model of organizational functioning to create programs which, if not textbook models of their formal innovation, were able to attract a loyal parental following and receive a good deal of blessing from higher authorities. To say that the rational bureaucratic model is an inadequate model for explaining much that happens in a school is not to dismiss its practical force.

Despite the generally accepted legitimacy of rationally organized hierarchy as the form of school organization, there is a parallel and partially inconsistent legitimate model of limited autonomy for teachers based upon their expertise with their subjects and with their individual children and upon informal tradition symbolized in the closed classroom door. This model of quasi-professional autonomy always exists in tension with the model of bureaucratic hierarchy of office. In these schools the tension between the two was brought to the fore by the principals' unusually forceful enactment of the bureaucratic model in the interests of getting the teachers to enact the new innovative patterns promptly and thoroughly. Some teachers felt their legitimate prerogatives violated--despite the principals' and the system's right to establish innovative schools.

Given the less certain formal grounding of their own position, they generally criticized the practical realism or the quality of the plans imposed from above rather than pitting their rights for autonomy as teachers against the rights to authority of the principal and central office. Some of their arguments about the difficulty of instituting particular practices or about their appropriateness in the situation had substantive merit. It is teachers' greater understanding of the details of daily practice of the variety of subjects, and of the response of children which legitimates their claims to have some say in the arrangement of classroom practice.[4]

The ambivalent definition of the proper locus of decision making in the school arises from a conflict between the claims of overarching bureaucracy and its practical benefits and others stemming from a real need for decisions to be made by persons knowledgeable about the conditions in which they will be carried out. The conflicts which arose between principals and teachers in these schools--especially Adams and Mann--then reflected in part deep-rooted tensions in the societal definitions and practical needs of schools as organizations.

A similar logic applies if we consider the model of schools as loosely coupled organizations. Under ordinary circumstances central offices have the right to direct the actions of principals and through them of teachers quite closely because of the bureaucratic organization of the whole school system. In normal practice, a number of standardized limits are laid down, such as budgets and curriculum guides, which lay serious constraints on the schools, but in day to day matters schools can operate quite independently. The institution of desegregation throughout the system and of magnet schools in some locations was an act which seriously altered this relationship of the central office and the schools. Even though there was not close supervision of daily operations, the schools were accountable to the ends set for them as magnet schools and they were more likely to be called upon to justify policies and practices than in situations where outsiders, including parents, were less vigilant or where stable practice continued from year to year.

These alterations in loose coupling suggest that where formal hierarchies of line authority and accountability exist, loose coupling is always more a matter of daily practice than of inherent relationship. It can be abrogated at the pleasure of superordinates. Subordinates must conduct themselves in that knowledge; they can take advantage of loose coupling only to do those things which will not lead to disapproval from above and thus to a tightening of coupling.

This study has dealt least with the model of organizations as a set of individuals and coalitions seeking individual ends. The actions of the dissidents fit this model, but the capacity of the dissidents to rally support depended not just upon the individual situation of the other teachers but upon their responses to their work lives in terms of the conflict of formal bureaucracy and teachers' autonomy. There was some silent negotiation of the amount of compliance which teachers would grant the innovations and the principals, and there were alliances formed among teachers and some bargaining with principals in this context. Thus, while this model has utility in explaining events in these schools and it can not be omitted entirely, it seems less important than the others discussed.

The schools were most distinctive in those programs where the faculty shared not only a set of goals, but beliefs about the means for achieving those goals, and a set of assumptions about the characteristics of children which justified the goals and made the means seem appropriate. This occurred to some degree at Owens and at Adams, with respect to personal relations between teachers and students, but not to IGE. In these two contexts the goals were infused with value and the procedures which led to those goals were agreed upon, though there might be dissensus and discussion on details.

These distinctive approaches came close to the model of organizational functioning which has been called institutionalization. This model assumes that internal social processes will be crucial in organizations where work is complex and line workers must make decisions on the spot. It therefore assumes that all the members of the organization must come to share, and to re-enforce one another in sharing, the distinctive goals of an organization and the assumptions which ground its distinctive methods for reaching goals. This must be done by clear articulation of the goals and assumptions at the top and by intensive multilateral communication about the application of these general principles to specific cases until all members have a common understanding of aims, philosophical premises, and the variety of applications of these to specific cases. (Selznick, 1957;

Kimberly, 1980; Lodahl and Mitchell, 1980).

If these criteria were used strictly, none of the schools described here had thoroughly institutionalized its distinctiveness. Even at Owens there was considerable variation in the self-contained teachers' understanding of the goals, their attachment to them, and their use of daily activities relevant to those goals. The teachers in specialized centers and labs were different as a group because of the different structural conditions in which they worked. At Adams not all the faculty participated in the approaches to students promoted by the faculty culture, and those that did so varied in their consistency and energy in so doing.

Still, one can draw a distinction between these situations--where there was broad if not total agreement on goals, means, and the assumptions about the nature of children and of the classroom process which connected them--and those of IGE and the gifted and talented innovation where principals imposed a fairly specific set of behaviors. In the latter cases, teachers did not necessarily agree even with the broad goals, let alone the means or the assumptions about children's learning of the program. Demands for short run compliance and the conflict they engendered from resistance to a bureaucratic model of the organization did not encourage consensus on these issues. Thus the strategies which were called upon to start these innovations in the haste to comply with the desegregation court order were likely to undermine the long run development of a harmonious, institutionalized pursuit of distinctive educational approaches.

MAGNET SCHOOLS AND POLICY ISSUES

In closing it is reasonable to ask what light the experiences of these three schools and of magnets in Heartland overall can shed upon common patterns which can be expected with the installation and development of magnet schools.

The Educational Purposes of Magnet Schools

The dual mission of magnet schools. Magnet schools by definition set out with two important missions. They are established as tools for desegregation and so they must serve racially diverse student bodies which are likely also to be socially and academically diverse student bodies. They are also established as educationally innovative, or at least distinctive, schools. They must in fact deliver the distinctive education which they promise.

The story of these schools suggests that dealing with academic diversity is a difficult task in itself. Further it is one which does not blend easily with every interesting educational approach which educators might like to attempt and parents be drawn to accept. Mann had the most difficulty of the three schools in blending its educational approach and its mandate to deal with diversity. Since gifted and talented education is currently a popular approach, Mann's difficulties must be taken seriously.

On the other hand, part of the reason for Mann's difficulties lay in its consistent use of a traditional single curriculum, traditional academic rewards, and a traditional activity structure in almost all classes. Adams's IGE approach which changed each of these items of traditional schooling blended far better with diversity. Adams had to modify IGE somewhat by grouping within the classroom rather than between classrooms, in order to maintain racially diverse experiences and to de-emphasize academic differences in children's social perceptions of each other. The contrast in racial relations between Adams and Mann discussed in the last chapter suggests that the handling of academic diversity in a desegregated school is likely to have important implications for the students' experience of racial diversity.

Owens's modifications of traditional curriculum, academic reward structures, and classroom activity structures also enabled it to deal constructively with diversity. However, its open education approach was not well-suited to the particular mix of students it received. It needed students whose reading skills were good enough to allow independent work, but it received many students with skills which were well below average.[5]

Thus careful thought needs to be given to the blending of students' characteristics with the educational approach offered. It can not be assumed that parents will accurately judge their children's ability to deal with a particular kind of approach, especially if there are no public criteria describing the kind of student who will do well with the program. Educational approaches which can easily be used with academically diverse groups have much to recommend them. It may of course be possible to construct magnet schools which will appeal to a limited segment of academic variety in students while being racially diverse. But where this limited variation involves the more able students many are likely to be of higher social class as well and questions concerning the equity of establishing such a public school will be raised.

Magnet schools as innovative schools. The story of these three schools suggests that the conditions under which magnet schools are founded make the establishment of genuine longlasting innovations difficult. At least where court orders are involved magnet schools will generally have to be established in haste. By their nature they must be established with considerable publicity in order to draw an adequate corps of volunteers. Haste and publicity together will require the firm imposition of their innovative approach from the top--unless as at Owens schools which are already innovative can be relabeled. And as the history of Adams and Mann indicates, the imposition of an innovation by the central office and principal in a highly directive fashion is likely to generate opposition among the teachers. While short run implementation of the innovation may be quite likely given the glare of publicity and the force hierarchical authority, the processes which set it in place are not well designed for making the teachers accept it as valid. Unless the teachers come to share its premises, goals, and methods, it is unlikely to last once the glare of publicity and the pressure from administrators associated with starting desegregation have passed.

Magnets as quality schools. Despite the difficulties of the three schools which I have outlined here, all of them could be described as good quality schools. Each was notably successful in some facet of its activity. Both Adams and Owens were able to transform students who had had difficulty elsewhere into constructive members of the organizations who in many cases also made improved academic progress. Adams created interracial relations which compare well with those described in the literature on desegregated schools. And Mann seemed to raise the test scores of its students as a total cohort and it honed the skills of its strongest students so that they returned from external competitions with impressive records of success.

All the schools had co-operative relations between students and teachers in the classroom. None displayed high levels of tension between the races and all experienced some voluntary racial mixing, though they varied in their ability to create general cordiality between the races.

The schools were helped in creating these conditions, generally regarded by the public as positive, by some shared advantages of magnet status. Students and their families were volunteers; so few children came to the schools unwillingly. Further, because they came from scattered areas and scattered previous schools, they did not confront the schools with a solid peer culture. Their responses to the schools were not shaped by what they were told by older siblings and neighbors who had graduated from them. They were thus much more open to the schools' definitions of themselves and of the relationships which should grow up between the school and the student than are students in established neighborhood schools. Interracial relations were helped by the fact that most students did not have to answer for their friendships to same race elementary school cliques or neighborhood peers.

The schools also shared the advantage of the positive publicity they were given by the system. While (except at Owens) public claims for their superiority before they opened their doors or learned their distinctive modes of education could cause anxiety and tension among teachers, it could also call them to put forth their best efforts before an unusually interested adult audience.[6]

Because magnet schools have to be distinctive they acquire an unusual license to innovate. They provide an opportunity for administrators, teachers, and students who have chafed under traditional patterns and have acquired ideas and energy for moving in new directions. Of course movement in these directions requires readjustments of both enthusiasts and non-enthusiasts. It may create some tension and anxiety as well as a chance for creative expression.

Finally, these schools along with the system as a whole benefited from the provision of diversity which allowed students with unusual learning needs to be provided with a specialized kind of school which might be better suited to them than a traditional one. At all of the schools there were children whose academic progress was greatly helped by being exposed to the special approach of the school. And especially at Adams and Owens there were children who also visibly profited from a better match with their social needs.

Thus magnet schools enjoy a range of advantages which make some degree of success more likely than under ordinary circumstances. However, success is a slippery term and there are many criteria by which magnet schools may be judged by their own staffs, by the central office and board, and by parents. In Heartland they were judged on their success in implementing their innovations, on students' standardized test scores, on student-teacher relationships, on their creating of easy interracial association, and on their capacity to maintain a racially balanced set of volunteering families.

Despite these varied criteria, as magnet schools, their first responsibility toward the district was to maintain a flow of volunteering, racially mixed families. In practice then, the criteria which parents used to judge their success became the most important. And the measure of parents' judgment was their continuing presence in the school leavened by the presence or absence of complaints to the central office or the board.

My interviews with parents were not nearly numerous enough to represent the parent population of the city. But they did show a pattern. With the exception of some families at Jesse Owens who were really interested in open education, parents on the whole judged a school according to whether their children seemed to be happy there and whether they seemed to be learning there. Parents had somewhat varied criteria for deciding whether their children were happy and learning and some stressed one of those generalizations more and some the other. But they were always concerned with those two issues. Most were rather indifferent to details of each educational approach which educators might find very significant.

If these are the criteria on which parents choose, then in the long run experience of school systems with magnets the distinctive educational approaches which they advertise will be more occasions for finding ways to make desegregated student bodies feel comfortable and to enable the students to learn than an end in themselves. Some variety of educational approaches may be valued as students who do not prosper in traditional settings seek alternatives.

Patterns of recruitment to the three schools described in this report suggest that parents choose a school where they think their children will learn and be happy first on the kind of students already there, rather than on its formal innovation or even the school's general academic and social program. Thus Owens's recruitment of poorly skilled low status children tended to perpetuate itself. And even Adams lost some students whose parents thought the student body was not sufficiently middle class.[7] Mann quickly became far and away the most heavily chosen of the middle schools despite its difficulty in defining its educational approach, its location in the Mann building, and even despite the vocal unhappiness of some of the parents in the first years. It had clearly the highest scoring, most middle class clientele.[8] Although it is difficult to estimate the size of the effect, clearly parents chose Mann in part as they choose houses in school attendance areas which are homogeneously middle class, or where their children will have companions of higher status than their own.

But if middle class parents use the social characteristics of other students at the school as an indicator of its probable suitability for their children, then magnet schools may tend to separate children by social class if not by race.

The Politics of Magnet Schools

In Chapter Two I suggested that once magnets have done the work of defusing public resistance to desegregation they are bound to experience a loss of political and financial support. As I write in the spring of 1982, the effects of the conversion of federal funding to block grants for 1982-1983 are just beginning to be translated into layoffs and program cuts in the whole Heartland system but certainly in the magnet schools which had federally funded positions.

The magnet schools have been experiencing a loss of political support over a much longer term. With the threat of vocal protest of desegregation gone, with families whose children attend white neighborhood schools realizing that those schools will all be desegregated with bused in children, and with the black community realizing that four out of five children riding the buses are black children going to white neighborhood schools, there are many constituencies which question whether it is equitable for the system to offer schools labeled as special or superior.

These problems are compounded by the greater tendency of middle class than working class families to take advantage of the magnet offerings. Middle class families are less likely to mind sending their children out of the neighborhood (Rubin, 1972) and middle class and upwardly mobile families are most likely to have both the motivation and the skills to manage the processes involved to get a student enrolled in a magnet school. They are also more likely to believe that action is necessary if a child is too far ahead or behind to work comfortably with a traditional class—or for that matter to question whether normal progress is the best he or she can do.

The middle class's disproportionate willingness to use magnet schools has been compounded in Heartland by their tendency to be drawn particularly strongly to a few schools which attract other similar families. Thus though only the two schools of the gifted and talented program can select their children, the Montessori elementary school and the Tenth Street Creative Arts school draw student bodies who garner high standardized scores and have active, articulate parents. These have gained reputations as schools for the elite, even though there are no formal criteria which encourage that pattern.

Heartland's central administrators foresaw and tried to forestall some of these problems from the beginning. The Heartland schools were officially called "alternative" schools, not magnet schools. The emphasis in the early publicity was on the diversity of educational approaches offered to match the diversity of students' needs. Little was said about these schools being superior at the system level, though when one saw the refurbished buildings and the well-staffed programs offered in the first years of federal money it was clear they did have some special privileges.

The process for transferring children to a magnet school was extremely simple. The forms asked for little more than childrens' and parents' names, addresses, and grade level. They could be turned in at any neighborhood school. In the early years there was considerable media publicity at the time when students were to sign up for the following year; there remain announcements mailed to the home of every school child.

Central administrators also designed schools which they thought would appeal to working class constituencies. At the elementary level there were IGE schools, a continuous progress school, and a "diagnostic learning center" which grew out of a school dealing with students with remedial needs. The career programs located in the high schools, which made each one a partial magnet, were in large part aimed at students who did not intend to go to college. While these schools did draw from working class, and some middle class, families on a steady basis, they did not attain the large followings or the visibility of the schools which appealed to the middle class. The need of the latter to turn away large numbers of students increased public resentment toward them.

Other school systems which do allow admissions criteria or which make fewer self-conscious efforts to draw a variety of students into magnets may face more serious and vehement charges of elitism. One can see a pattern of enthusiasm followed by charges of elitism similar to that in Heartland as one reads accounts of magnet schools in the educational literature (e.g. Dorgan, 1980; Levine and Havighurst, 1977; Rossell, 1979).

From a policy perspective, however, it is important to be clear about one's comparative perspective in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of magnet school plans. Those who criticize magnets as elitist are generally comparing them to one of two myths. First there is the myth which is pervasive in traditional school systems that all the neighborhood schools have comparable resources and offer comparable programs. This myth holds that standardization is the route to equity. But in such systems realtors routinely advertise houses according to their public school attendance area when they are located near schools which are widely acknowledged to be superior despite their formal standardization. The strength of the public's belief in the informal superiority of these schools is indicated by the willingness of homebuyers to pay thousands of dollars more to have their children in a public school third grade which is "more equal" than another.

The second myth is held by proponents of desegregation who are only too aware of these informal differences in supposedly standardized schools. They note that the traditional system is inequitable because only children with white skin and parents with considerable economic means are able to live in the attendance areas of the schools generally acknowledged to be the best in a city. They argue that desegregation will break the ties of residence and school attendance. Black children from modest economic circumstances can then benefit from the political skill and influence of middle class whites who have been able to use that influence to get superior schools for their children. Whites will wield this influence, if the two groups go to the same schools whether the schools be in white neighborhoods or black ones. But experience with desegregation plans has indicated that all too often the way that children are assigned to schools (Levinsohn and Wright, 1976; Orfield, 1978) and the practices within the schools (Eddy, 1975; Rist, 1978; 1979) frustrate these hopes. Often the plans do not result in equal quality for schools throughout a district or even in equal access to positive experiences within a school.

In the light of the realities which throw into question the equalitarian character of both traditional city school systems and desegregation plans without magnets, I would argue that it is important to compare the strengths and weaknesses of magnets to the strengths and weaknesses of other systems in practice. That magnets are short of ideally equalitarian is clear. That they are less equitable than other systems in practice is much less clear.

It seems reasonable to say that magnet schools, at least in the form practiced in Heartland, represent a real improvement over traditional school systems in opening up access to superior schools. Assuming that the magnet schools are at least as superior as neighborhood schools with strong reputations, one can argue that the criteria for access to this superior education are radically changed by the magnet pattern. Where neighborhood schools with citywide reputations for superiority are in middle class white neighborhoods, minority families are cut out by a host of influences which are difficult to break through even when they have the money to buy or rent housing in the school attendance area. Similarly, both white and minority families who can not afford the housing are also excluded from these schools.

But in Heartland's magnet plan a quarter to a half of the seats in the magnet schools (in practice usually 40 to 60%) were reserved for minority children. To enroll a child a family had only to fill out a simple form and turn it in at the neighborhood school. Selection for oversubscribed schools was done by lot; so that among applicants children of different economic backgrounds had similar chances of gaining admission to the magnet schools.[9]

Thus, while magnet schools are no less superior and perhaps more superior than the informally favored schools of traditional systems, they draw children on much less discriminatory bases to enjoy that superiority. Parents' willingness to send children away from home and their ability to be alert to enrollment periods and processes remain factors which give children different chances for access to superiority, but these bases of discrimination seem less unfair than skin color and economic circumstances.

Similarly, magnet schools by definition must serve a fairly small number of children and so do not improve the situation of black children across the board. But they do allow black families who can gain admission to their limited spots education which is not determined by their skin color or by economic means. To put the matter a different way, magnet schools are half a glass of equity. Whether that glass is half full or half empty depends upon one's comparative reference point.

NOTES

[1] However, IGE schools often sort children into different classrooms for at least part of the day according to their skills on the subject being worked on. This was not done at Adams (except partially in the eighth grade) because of its potentially resegregating effects. The formal IGE innovation was thus somewhat modified with grouping within classrooms. That policy in turn affected classroom activity structure.

[2] Owens's move was designed to allow it to expand--too quickly for its benefit--as well as to empty the Rodgers building of its neighborhood children.

[3] They are defined in ways which overlap as well. For example, the history of the school includes the development of a faculty culture. And the schedule and logistics of an innovative school are often determined by the blueprint of its innovation.

[4] Lipsky (1980) makes this point more broadly for bureaucratically organized human service organizations which deal with the public.

[5] It would have been an interesting experiment to see Mann's somewhat diverse, but much more skilled, student body in combination with the Owens program.

[6] Mann received fewer of these benefits than it should have because of parental anger over the move to Mann and the suspicions which some expressed about the capabilities of the former Atlantic teachers to work with gifted and talented children.

[7] Parents mentioned not choosing these schools to me on just these criteria.

[8] The meaning of the pattern of recruitment at Mann is somewhat clouded by the fact that it was the only school for which students were

nominated. These nominations by teachers doubtless encouraged parents to apply. And the criteria for nomination were correlated with social class.

[9] At all the schools I heard talk among staff or parents, or both, of exceptions made to selection by lot. Sometimes these exceptions were to let in difficult children who it was thought would prosper better and be less disruptive in these special settings; sometimes they were to favor families who were either aggressive or well-connected. But these comments never came from the people directly involved and can not be taken to indicate anything other than a certain distrust among both staff and public in the random selection process. Whether there were occasional exceptions or not, the general point stands that children were not systematically selected for the schools on a basis related to income as they are where residence is the criterion of eligibility.

Appendix

Comments on Method

A study such as this which relies upon qualitative methods, including a good deal of unstructured observation, does not simply record the "facts"--if any social science ever does. It resembles a portrait more than a snapshot. The account written here gives the reader glimpses of events and persons, but seeks to build an overall impression or set of impressions rather than "simply" to record those events or describe those persons and their actions. Since this study was also the work of a single researcher and author, it is bound to reflect something of the character of that one person, just as a portrait reflects the artist as well as the subject. Consequently, I have set down in this appendix a short discussion of the way the data were gathered and conclusions were drawn which may help the reader to sort through the perspective which pervades the past pages to see what lighting and shadow and what relationship between subject and painter affected the final picture. I write this appendix especially for people who are familiar with Heartland, many of whom will be able to identify its schools.

THE EFFECTS OF THE SUBJECT AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The impressions given of the schools here are naturally affected by my initial questions which remained a focus throughout. I wanted to know how the schools had to change their organizational character to implement their alternative educational approaches and how they were inhibited in their attempts to implement those approaches by their inability to alter their organizational character. In the process of answering these questions I have also inquired into the nature of the influences which shape organizational character in schools. I was particularly interested in the relations of the schools with outside constituences as the name of the project, which has remained the name of this report, suggests. However, my understanding of the nature and importance of this relationship grew considerably during the fieldwork and analysis. With this set of interests I attended to some activities and relationships much more than to others and I have drawn a portrait in terms of the matters to which I did attend.

The specific portraits of the schools and the differences among them were also shaped by the fact that I chose three schools to study. Though I have described each of the three in detail, those descriptions are shaped by explicit and implicit comparisons among them. As I talked with the principal and curriculum co-ordinator at Jesse Owens in an attempt to gain access to that school, the curriculum co-ordinator expressed doubt about the study on the grounds that a study of three schools would be likely to cast one as an isolate and quite probably put it in an uncomplimentary light. She assumed that one would be Jesse Owens because of its greater distinctiveness. As I found that Mann stood in contrast to the other schools at least in the character of curriculum, classroom activity structure, and students' response, her words have often come back to me. In form the outcome she predicted has tended to emerge, though what I found was not what either one of us expected in substance.

I am sure that if I had studied Mann and two neighborhood desegregated middle schools--which would in all probability have had daily schedules, curricula, academic rewards, and classroom activity structures very similar to Mann-my portrait of Mann in relationship with the students would have had a different emphasis. This comparison would have led to less emphasis on its similarity to other middle and junior high schools and more emphasis upon the ways in which it was different. And it would probably have led to an exploration of the ways in which students' general civility and compliance were maintained rather than to mention of what tensions did flare up. It is not clear that such a portrait would have been more "true", but it would have been different. For a local audience interested in whether Mann is a "good" school, rather than in the processes and influences which can make an impact on schools' characters, the difference in these portraits can lead to different conclusions.

Not only is the picture of each school affected by comparison with the other two, but it is also affected by the order in which I studied the schools. I started the field work with Adams which I studied alone in the spring of 1979. I then went to Owens and was there from September to March of 1979-1980. At Mann I attended parent meetings from the spring of 1979 through spring of 1980, observed and interviewed sixth grade classes, teachers, and students one day a week through the fall of 1979 and did the same with the seventh and eighth grades in a concentrated way from March to June of 1980.

Researchers, like any one else, have personal histories. I came to Adams with a personal history of qualitative studies of five other schools in two districts, all of them desegregated, all of them with a sizable proportion of working class and poor children. In my earlier work I had been interested in the issue of co-operation and conflict between teachers and children. I was struck when I reached Adams with levels of co-operation which were high in comparison to the schools I had studied earlier. Much of my work at Adams centered around explaining that co-operation. If I had started this study at Mann (and started it in the year that I was actually there after the difficulties in relationships with students in the first year were past) so that my earlier studies rather than Adams and Owens were my proximate comparative base at Mann, I might have been more struck than I was by the cooperation in classrooms there, even though interaction was formal and the student body initially tractable.

Similarly, if I had started the study at Owens and had seen the personal character of relationships and the good cooperation between students and teachers there first, I might have emphasized this aspect of the school's life more and have explored the impact of Owens's distinctive educational approach on the students in more depth. As it was, with experience at Adams and a summer of analyzing it and writing about it behind me, I tended to assimilate the patterns at Owens to a model I had already constructed in attempting to understand Adams. From the point of view of persons interested in open education or from that of persons interested in Owens as a particular school, I have thus probably slighted its benefits for students' personal lives.

The portrait I have painted at each school is also affected by the aspects of the schools that I chose to look at. At all three schools I attempted to see the school and its operation by understanding the perspectives and the activities of a variety of actors in different organizational positions (though I gave students less attention than adults). I have attempted to develop some degree of emphathy with each set of actors in order to understand why they acted as they did as well as to see the consequences of their actions. This attempt has, I hope, helped to show how patterns which seem puzzling can develop among reasonable people with understandable feelings, perceptions, and plans. But an attempt to cover so broad a canvas with finite resources results in a thinner description or investigation of each aspect than is possible in studies which focus solely on one or two processes.

EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CHARACTER ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

In a study such as this one can not come to each school and apply a standard, "objective" set of measurements to each school. Rather, the researcher has to fit him or herself to the life of the school and become in some measure part of it in order to study it. As a consequence, the organizational conditions which I have described as affecting the life of the schools also affected the conduct of the research.

Perhaps most strikingly, my relations with both teachers and students were affected by the schedule and logistics of the school day, just as their relations with one another were. Thus, I interviewed teachers during their preparation periods. Since it was awkward to split a formal interview into two days, my interviews with most teachers ran the length of their preparation periods which meant about 80 minutes at Owens but about 48 minutes at Mann, and approximately the same at Adams where periods had variable lengths. Thus the interviews at Owens were more leisurely personal affairs and those at Mann and Adams more structured, formal and hurried.

Similarly, at Adams where the faculty were pushed into common life in the lounge by the frequent unavailability of their classrooms, even during half the lunch hour in winter, I came to know the faculty much better and to be part of their interaction more than in the more spacious and fractionated settings at Owens and Mann where there was little activity in the lounges during preparation periods and substantial proportions of the teachers never ate in the faculty lunchroom. At Adams the faculty developed more of a common life, and I had easier access to it just as they did.

The hurried schedule and long distances between classes at Mann made it hard for me to introduce and explain myself to teachers as I followed students. The whole class form of activity gave little chance for even brief communication with teachers or with students during classes. Thus my relations with teachers and with students, like theirs with each other, remained more formal at Mann than at the other schools where the less harried schedule, based on use of space and time, and the more varied and informal patterns of classroom interaction made it easier to bring me into the social group. For example, at Adams even if I arrived at a class shortly before a bell (not an issue in Owens's self-contained classes where I arrived before school started) the teacher could circulate to me, as to the students, for a fuller explanation of my purpose and activities than I could give before class began. And the teacher also could answer any curious students who might ask about me as he or she circulated.

Just as my role was affected by the structure of the schools, it was also affected by their shared attitudes. As an observer I was an outsider, a representative of the public. But as a person who was present in the school participating, though passively, in classes and meetings over a long period of time, I became in part a member of the adult group. Thus the staffs' responses to me partook of both their responses to the public and to one another.

The principals were willing to engage in the research in proportion to the security of the school's pool of volunteering families. Owens's position is the most fragile. Mr. Osten with characteristic directness declared himself hesitant to give some one whose prejudices he did not know free rein to explore and write about the school in ways which could affect its public image. It took a good deal of conversation to get his permission for the study. Mrs. Michaels also was hesitant, though she talked more in terms of being reluctant to add to the heavy traffic of visitors which the staff had had to bear. She was reassured enough to grant me admittance after one long conversation with me. The principal at Atlantic gave permission through the central office without meeting me. When I went to see Dr. Joliet soon after Mann opened to renew that permission, he did not hesitate to give it. He requested that the school be one of the later ones studied; so that it would have its first formative problems behind it, but said I was welcome to come in the first year if that seemed necessary.

The faculties seemed more to respond to a member of the public in accordance with their own sense of confidence and ease in the general teaching task and in the special alternative approach of the school. Here the order of comfort was the reverse of that of the principals. The Owens faculty were nearly universally comfortable with my presence. They fit me easily into their rooms as I observed and they talked in an open and relaxed way in their interviews. The Adams faculty were more cautious at first but became more relaxed as they came to know me. The Mann faculty remained more uneasy and constrained, especially in classroom observations.

There was a good deal of variation among individual teachers at the schools in their response to observation and interviews, however. The dissidents at every school (and there were milder dissidents even at Owens) used the opportunity to have their perspectives heard by some one outside whom they seemed to hope would carry their views as far as possible. At Mann two teachers from the core department bragged to other teachers (who later told me) of having "burned her ears". At every school some strong loyalists were careful to defend the schools as they talked. At Owens one of the most active and independent teachers did not repeat to me criticisms I had heard her voice quite clearly and forcefully as she walked with small groups through the halls following faculty meetings. Talking with other teachers was criticism within the family, but I was not part of the family, at least in a formal interview. At every school also there were timid teachers who seemed afraid of judgment on their teaching or of repercussions should they criticize the school administration. And at every school there were at least a few teachers who seemed comfortable in telling of little talked about difficulties and also of the school's strengths in an evenhanded way. The proportion of these patterns varied from school to school, but some of each were present at all the schools.

Finally, the faculty responded to me much as they would to a new teacher. Thus at Adams they had some difficulty in placing me at first and were probably more aware of me than the faculty at either of the other schools as I initially had no place in a faculty with high rates of interaction and cohesiveness. But gradually they took me into their common life and they and I found ways for me to participate within the faculty lounge and then with individuals and in team meetings. At the end of the year they invited me to their celebration lunch paid for with money collected in the soft drink machine in the faculty room.

At Owens teachers responded to me as one more individual. They accepted me in staff meetings. In their less active common life my relationships were with individuals, not the group as, as were their. They were open and friendly and they expected conversations with me to be two way, at least in part. They responded to me less in terms of the single role of researcher and more as a person with a variety of roles, just as they responded to one another and to students in this way. They seemed to accept me without question, to find me and my activities unremarkable. The principal told me late in the study that literally no teacher had mentioned my presence or made any comment about me within his hearing.

At Mann teachers were polite in responding to my requests to observe or to interview them and they courteously included me in lunch table conversations. But I found it difficult to develop more than superficial rapport with them. New teachers also remarked that they were formal and difficult to get to know.

EFFECTS OF THE RESEARCHER'S ROLES ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The research was also inevitably affected by my own characteristics as the participants in the schools perceived them. I had a number of visible or easily learned about roles which helped to give me a social location other than the only dimly familiar one of sociological researcher. I was visibly white, female, and middle aged, all characteristics which were relevant to my research role. These characteristics were perhaps most important in my interviews with students. In most cases I had little previous contact with these students, though they might remember seeing me in classes. I looked, dressed, and spoke more or less like the adults hired by the schools, and the children probably responded to me in that context. They also responded in the context of same-race or cross-race conversation.

These characteristics also affected my relations with adults. Most obviously my race created same-race and cross-race conversations with adults. But my gender and age brought along with them the expectations for behavior which are appropriate to women and to the middle-aged. These characteristics interacted with my other statuses. I had my doctoral degree before initiating this research, but the prevalence in the schools of research undertaken for a dissertation, and the common pattern of women of my age returning to graduate work led most teachers to assimilate my work to the pattern of dissertation research. When I gave formal explanations of the research before interviews many teachers asked if it were for my doctorate and were somewhat puzzled as to how it would fit into a career pattern if I were already past the doctorate. Many assimilated it back to the doctoral model even after such a conversation. My personal characteristics thus made it easy for me to embrace the role of learner.

At Adams, Mrs. Michaels introduced me as Dr. Metz, a form of address which stuck with a few of the teachers and which I thought inhibited my ability to take the role of learner or to maintain my preferred easygoing style with low visibility. At the other schools I therefore asked to be introduced as Ms. Metz, Mrs. Metz, or Mary Metz according to the school's style of address. Mr. Osten introduced me as Ms. Metz and Mr. Mueller as Mary Metz.

The principals did not regard me as casually as did the teachers, nor did they think of me as a student. They were responsible for the welfare of their schools and were well aware that a researcher with no ties to the school system was an unpredictable quantity who could generate publicity of some kind. I told the principals that I intended to write a book based on the final report--and when Mr. Osten was reluctant to let me study Jesse Owens I gave him a copy of the book I had already written so that he could judge my capacity for fairness himself. Whether the political vulnerability of the schools, my age, or my professional experience was the major reason, the principals treated me as an equal and were far more generous in giving me their time than were the principals in the studies I had done when my face was less furrowed and my professional record shorter.

Because the fieldwork for this study was so extensive, I had to take up residence in Heartland, even though I was simultaneously teaching and carrying on my life as a faculty member--though with a greatly reduced load--many miles away. While I was in Heartland I lived with relatives on the South Side. During the fieldwork at Adams two young children in the family attended the neighborhood public school, but in the second year of the fieldwork they attended first grade at a magnet IGE elementary school and third grade at Peach Street. The principals at each of the schools inquired about my living situation and so knew I had a social location on the South Side and a personal relationship with children in those two schools. A few teachers who inquired knew this as well.

EFFECTS OF THE RESEARCHER'S ROLES ON THE ANALYSIS

Not only do one's personal characteristics affect what other persons say and what they allow one to see, but they necessarily color one's understanding of the phenomena under study, no matter how one tries to transcend one's personal limitations. Thus while I tried to talk to persons with as wide a range of perspectives on the schools as possible, my understanding was inevitably affected by my background as a white, by my generation, by my social class and that of my regular associates, and by the whole accumulation of my previous professional and personal experiences. I was made the more aware of these effects as I lived a life in two communities. I commuted every week across not only many miles but much social distance between Heartland and Madison, Wisconsin. Each week I moved out of the world where Heartland's issues were important and participated in a world where other issues were.

As I read the Heartland papers I began to notice that it was informative to look up the addresses of reporters writing articles comparing city patterns of life or city services to suburban ones. It was usually possible to predict from the article whether the reporter had chosen to make his or her own home in the city or the suburbs. Similarly, I noticed articles written by suburban reporters and a report out of the state capitol (which is a small and prosperous city well removed from Heartland) which remarked with alarm upon the low test scores and high dropout rates in Heartland compared to the rest of the state. It was striking that these writers and government officials compared Heartland's school patterns to a state which has no communities with comparable size, economic patterns, and minority population rather than to cities in other states which are similar in those crucial characteristics. Comparably placed persons in Heartland would without thought have perceived the city in relation to other cities, not to its relatively prosperous rural state.

If the communities in which others live have such an effect on the questions they ask, and hence on what they "see", then it was reasonable to assume that my own locations were having similar effects. These were personal experiences which brought home the points made by many persons working in the sociology of knowledge (e.g. Berger and Luckmann, 1966) that we all see the world from specific locations which color what we apprehend.

Thus, it made a difference not only that I brought my past experiences and associations, my race, my gender, and my generation to this project, but that I returned from the schools each evening to the South Side. On the block where I lived there was a throng of elementary school children, and I talked informally with most of their parents about their school experiences.[1] I also participated with the family I lived with in the normal life of the community and so met and had a chance for brief conversation about schools with many parents of children in the three schools as I stood in grocery store lines or watched younger children play in the local soccer league. I thus heard about the schools from a parental perspective on the South Side at much more length than in any of the other areas of the city where I went only for formal parent interviews.

I have attempted to be aware of the biases which my social locations may have introduced into this study. But it is nonetheless well worth the reader's effort to consider how this report might have differed had it been written by some one who was black, some one older or younger, by a man, and by some one living in Heartland's far West Side, its central East Side, or its suburbs.

NOTES

[1] I have not dealt in this report with the effects of magnet schools on community life. However, Table A-1 presents data on the school attendance of the children of this one accidentally selected South Side block. A glance shows that these predominantly elementary school children were scattered into a great variety of schools. The neighborhood school attracted a minority. On the other hand, because residence on the block

Table A-1

School Enrollment of Children on One South Side Block in 1979-1980

High School	
Catholic high school	1
Neighborhood high school	1
Middle School	
Adams Avenue	1
Elementary School	
Catholic school	5
Neighborhood school	4
Elementary IGE Magnet	3
Peach Street G and T	2
Tenth Street Creative Arts	2
Montessori	1
Total Elementary School	17
TOTAL	20

was stable, most had lived there since the age of two or three at most; so that they had continuing ties born of association as they emerged from toddlerhood and then from early childhood together. There were thus sexually integrated groups of preschoolers and sexually separate groups of elementary aged children which seemed to include every one. Still best friends often did attend school together and changes in school cooled formerly close relationships.

Sometimes parents of best friends co-operated in choosing magnet programs for them. In interviews parents often mentioned where friends were going as one factor in selecting magnets at the middle school level. This pattern seemed to be more common on the South Side--perhaps because of an emphasis on peer ties affected by social class, perhaps because of a larger pool of magnet school patrons among whom students could choose companions.

References

Allison, Graham T.
1971 Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis. Boston: Little Brown.

Allport, Gordon W.
1954 The Nature of Prejudice. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bacharach, Samuel B. and Edward J. Lawler
1980 Power and Politics in Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Baldridge, J. Victor and Terrence E. Deal, eds.
1975 Managing Change in Educational Organizations. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan.

Benson, J. Kenneth
1977 "Innovation and Crisis in Organizational Analysis." Sociological Quarterly 18 (Winter): 3-16.

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann
1966 The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.

Berman, Paul and Milbrey McLaughlin
1976 "Implementation of Educational Innovation." Educational Forum 40 (March): 347-370.

1975 Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change. Vol. 4: The Findings in Review. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation.

Bidwell, Charles.
1965 "The School as a Formal Organization" In James G. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations, pp. 972-1022. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Bidwell, Charles and John Kasarda
1980 "Conceptualizing and Measuring the Effects of School and Schooling." American Journal of Education 88 (August): 401-430.

Bossert, Steven T.
1979 Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms: A Study of Instructional Organization and its Consequences. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brookover, Wilbur, Charles Beady, Patricia Flood, John Schweitzer, and Joe Wisenbaker
1979 School Systems and Student Achievement: Schools Can Make a Difference. New York: Praeger.

Burlingame, Martin
1981 "Superintendent Power Retention." In Samuel B. Bacharach, ed., Organizational Behavior in Schools and School Districts, pp. 429-464. New York: Praeger.

Clark, Burton R.
1972 "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education." Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (June): 178-184.

Clement, Dorothy C., Margaret Eisenhart and Joe R. Harding
1979 "The Veneer of Harmony: Social-race Relations in a Southern Desegregated School." In Ray Rist, ed., Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment, pp. 15-64. New York: Academic Press.

Clement, Dorothy C. and Joe R. Harding
1978 "Social Distinctions and Emergent Student Groups in a Desegregated School." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 9 (December): 272-282.

Cohen, Elizabeth
1980 "Design and Redesign of the Desegregated School: Problems of Status, Power and Conflict." In Walter Stephan and Joe R. Feagin, eds., School Desegregation Past, Present and Future, pp. 251-280. New York: Plenum Press.

Cohen, Michael, James March and Johan P. Olsen
1972 "A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice." Administrative Science Quarterly 17 (March), 1-25.

Collins, Thomas W.
1979 "From Courtrooms to Classrooms: Managing School Desegregation in a Deep South High School." In Ray Rist, ed., Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment, pp. 89-114. New York: Academic Press.

Corwin, Ronald G.
1970 Militant Professionalism: A Study of Bureaucratic Conflict in High Schools. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

1973 Reform and Organizational Survival: The Teacher Corps as an Instrument of Educational Change. New York: Wiley.

1974a Education in Crisis: A Sociological Analysis of Schools and Universities in Transition. New York: Wiley.

1974b "Models of Educational Organizations." In F.N. Kerlinger and J.B. Carroll, eds., Review of Research in Education, vol. 2, pp. 247-295. Itasca, Ill.: Peacock.

1981 "Patterns of Organizational Control and Teacher Militancy: Theoretical Continuities in the Idea of 'Loose Coupling'." In Ronald

G. Corwin, ed. Research on Educational Organizations, pp. 261-291. Vol. 2 of Alan C. Kerckhoff, ed., Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization. Greenwich, CT.: Jai Press.

Cusick, Philip
1973 Inside High School: The Student's World. New York: Holt.

Deal, Terrence E.
1975 "Alternative Schools: An Alternative Postmortem." In J. Victor Baldridge and Terrence E. Deal, eds., Managing Change in Educational Organizations: Sociological Perspectives, Strategies, and Case Studies. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan.

Deal, Terrence E. and Lynn Celotti
1980 "How Much Influence Do (and Can) Administrators Have on Classrooms?" Phi Delta Kappan 61: 471-473.

Dorgan, M.
1980 "Integration Through Magnet Schools: Goals and Limitations." Integrated Education 18 (July/August): 59-63.

Dreeben, Robert
1973 "The School as a Workplace." In R.M.W. Travers, ed., Second Handbook of Research on Teaching, pp. 450-473. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Eddy, Elizabeth M.
1975 "Educational Innovation and Desegregation: A Case Study of Symbolic Realignment." Human Organization (Summer): 163-172.

Elmore, Richard F.
1978 "Organizational Models of Social Program Implementation." Public Policy 26 (Spring): 185-228.

Felix, Joseph L. and James N. Jacobs
1977 "Issues in Implementing and Evaluating Alternative Programs in Cincinnati." In Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, eds., The Future of Big City Schools: Desegregation Policies and Magnet Alternatives, pp. 105-115. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan.

Firestone, William
1980 "Images of Schools and Patterns of Change." American Journal of Education 88 (August): 459-487.

1981 Great Expectations for Small Schools: The Limits of Federal Projects. New York: Praeger.

Foster, Herbert
1974 Ribbin' Jivin' and Playin' the Dozens: The Unrecognized Dilemma of Inner City Schools. Cambridge, MA.: Ballinger Co.

Gracey, Harry L.
1972 Curriculum or Craftsmanship: Elementary School Teachers in a

Bureaucratic System. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hanna, Judith Lynne
1982 "Public Social Policy and the Children's World: Implications of Ethnographic Research for Desegregated Schooling." In G. Spindler, ed., *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action*, pp. 319-355. New York: Holt.

Hargreaves, David H.
1967 *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Herndon, James
1969 *The Way It Spozed to Be*. New York: Bantam Books.

Herriott, Robert and Neal Gross
1979 *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change*. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan.

Howell, Joseph T.
1973 *Hard Living on Clay Street*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.

Jackson, Philip
1968 *Life in Classrooms*. New York: Holt.

Joffe, Carole
1977 *Friendly Intruders: Childcare Professionals and Family Life*. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

Johnson, David and Roger Johnson
1978 "Cooperative, Competitive and Individualistic Learning." *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 12 (Fall): 3-15.

Kimberly, John R.
1980 "Initiation, Innovation, and Institutionalization in the Creation Process." In John R. Kimberly and Robert H. Miles, eds., *The Organizational Life Cycle: Issues in the Creation, Transformation and Decline of Organizations*, 18-43. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Klausmeier, H.J., M.R. Quilling, J.S. Sorenson, R.S. Way and G.R. Glasrud
1971 *Individually Guided Education and the Multi-unit School*. Madison, WI.: Wisconsin Research and Development Center for Cognitive Learning, The University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Klausmeier, H.J., R.A. Rossmiller and M. Sally, eds.
1977 *Individually Guided Elementary Education: Concepts and Practices*. New York: Academic Press.

Kozol, Jonathan
1972 *Free Schools*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Leacock, Eleanor Burke
1969 *Teaching and Learning in City Schools*. New York: Basic Books.

Levine, Daniel U. and Havighurst, Robert J., eds.
1977 The Future of Big City Schools: Desegregation Policies and Magnet Alternatives. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan.

Lindblom, Charles E.
1965 The Policy Making Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Lipsky, Michael
1980 Street-Level Bureacracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lodahl, Thomas M. and Stephen M. Mitchell
1980 "Drift in the Development of Innovative Organizations." In John R. Kimberly and Robert H. Miles, eds., The Organizational Life Cycle: Issues in the Creation, Transformation and Decline of Organizations, pp. 184-207. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lortie, Dan C.
1975 Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McDermott, Ray R.
1974 "Achieving School Failure: An Anthropological Approach to Illiteracy and Social Stratification." In G. Spindler, ed., Education and Cultural Process: Toward an Anthropology of Education, pp. 82-118. New York: Holt.

McPherson, Gertrude
1972 Small Town Teacher. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen
1976 Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations. Bergen, Norway: Universitetsforlaget.

Metz, Mary Haywood
1976 The Exercise of Control in Two Midwestern Junior High Schools. Final Report, National Institute of Education, Project No. 4-0661.

1978a "Clashes in the Classroom: The Importance of Norms for Authority." Education and Urban Society, 11 (November): 13-47.

1978b Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools. Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press.

1978c "Order in the Secondary School: Some Strategies for Control and Their Consequences." Sociological Inquiry 48 (1): 56-69.

1981 "The Closing of Andrew Jackson Elementary School: Magnets in School System Organization and Politics." In Samuel B. Bacharach, ed., Organizational Behavior in Schools and School Districts, pp. 127-159.

Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan
1978 "The Structure of Educational Organizations." In Marshall W. Meyer

and Associates, Environments and Organizations, pp. 78-109. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Noblit, George W.
1979 "Patience and Prudence in a Southern High School: Managing the Political Economy of Desegregated Education." In Ray Rist, ed. Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment, pp. 65-88. New York: Academic Press.

Ogbu, John
1974 The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood. New York: Academic Press.

1978 Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: Academic Press.

Perrow, Charles
1967 "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations." American Sociological Review 32 (April): 194-208.

Polgar, Sylvia K.
1978 "Modeling Social Relations in Cross-Color Play." Anthropology and Education Quarterly 9 (December): 283-289.

Rist, Ray C.
1973 The Urban School: A Factory for Failure. Cambridge, MA.: The MIT Press.

1978 The Invisible Children: School Integration in American Society. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Roethlisberger, F.J. and William J. Dickson
1947 Management and the Worker. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Rosenbaum, James and Stefan Presser
1978 "Voluntary Racial Integration in a Magnet School." School Review 86 (February): 156-186.

Rosenfeld, Gerry
1971 "Shut Those Thick Lips!" A Study of Slum School Failure. New York: Holt.

Rosenholtz, Susan J. and Stephen H. Rosenholtz
1981 "Classroom Organization and the Perception of Ability." Sociology of Education 54 (April): 132-140.

Rossell, Christine H.
1979 "Magnet Schools as a Desegregation Tool: The Importance of Contextual Factors in Explaining Their Success." Urban Education 14 (October): 303-320.

Rutter, Michael, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore, and Janet Ouston
1979 *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Scherer, Jacqueline and Edward J. Slawski
1979 "Color, Class, and Social Control in an Urban Desegregated School." In Ray C. Rist, ed., *Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of An American Experiment*. New York: Academic Press.

Schofield, Janet Ward
1980 "Complementary and Conflicting Identities: Images and Interaction in an Interracial School." In S. Asher and J. Gottman, eds., *The Development of Friendship: Description and Intervention*, pp. 55-90. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Forthcoming. *Behind Closed Doors: Race Relations in an American School*. New York: Praeger.

Schofield, Janet and H. Andrew Sagar
1979 "The Social Context of Learning in an Interracial School." In Ray C. Rist, ed., *Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment*, pp. 155-199. New York: Academic Press.

Selznick, Philip
1957 *Leadership in Administration*. New York: Harper and Row.

Sharp, Rachel and Anthony Green
1975 *Education and Social Control: A Study in Progressive Primary Education*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Simpson, Carl
1981 "Classroom Structure and the Organization of Ability." *Sociology of Education* 54 (April): 120-131.

Slavin, Robert E. and Nancy A. Madden
1979 "School Practices That Improve Race Relations." *American Educational Research Journal* (16) (Spring): 169-180.

Smith, Louis and Patricia Keith
1971 *Anatomy of an Educational Innovation: An Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School*. New York: John Wiley.

Sproull, Lee S.
1981 "Beliefs in Organizations." In Paul C. Nystrom and William H. Starbuck, eds., *Handbook of Organizational Design*. Vol. 2, *Remodeling Organizations and Their Environments*, pp. 203-224. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stinchcombe, Arthur
1964 *Rebellion in a High School*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books.

Sullivan, Mercer L.
1979 "Contacts Among Cultures: School Desegregation in A Polyethnic

New York City High School." In Ray C. Rist, ed., Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment, pp. 201-240. New York: Academic Press.

Sussmann, Leila
1977 Tales Out of School: Implementing Organizational Change in the Elementary Grades. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Swidler, Ann
1976 "What Free Schools Teach." Social Problems 24 (December): 214-227.

1979 Organization Without Authority. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

Udy, Stanley H.
1959 Organization of Work. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1959.

Waller, Willard
1965 The Sociology of Teaching. New York: John Wiley. (First published 1932.)

Watson, Bernard C.
1978 "The Principal Against the System." In Donald A. Erickson and Theodore L. Reller, eds., The Principal in Metropolitan Schools, pp. 40-54. Berkeley, CA.: McCutchan, 1978.

Weber, Max
1958 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weick, Karl E.
1976 "Educational Organizations as Loosely Coupled Systems." Administrative Science Quarterly 21 (March): 1-19.

Werthman, Carl
1963 "Delinquents in Schools: A Test for the Legitimacy of Authority." Berkeley Journal of Sociology 8: 39-60.

Wilcox, Kathleen
1982 "Differential Socialization in the Classroom: Implications for Equal Opportunity." In G. Spindler, ed., Doing the Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action. New York: Holt.

Willis, Paul
1977 Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Westmead, England: Gower.

Wolcott, Harry L.
1973 The Man in the Principal's Office. New York: Holt.

1977 Teachers Versus Technocrats: An Educational Innovation in Anthropological Perspective. Eugene, OR.: Center for Educational Policy and Management, University of Oregon.

Woodward, Joan.
1965 Industrial Organization. New York: Oxford University Press.